



Collection of the Sheremetievs' Family Museum

BYZANTINE SEALS

and in the Byzantine Style

RUS' SEALS

found on the TERRITORY of UKRAINE

Edited by Werner Seibt and Oleksandr Alf'orov

National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine
Institute of History of Ukraine

Sheremetievs' Family Museum

Byzantine Seals and Rus' Seals in the Byzantine Style Found on the Territory of Ukraine

(Collection of the Sheremetievs' Family Museum)

*Edited by
Werner Seibt and Oleksandr Alf'orov*

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Honorable readers!

A catalog of Byzantine and Byzantine-style Rus' seals from Ukraine, a remarkable publication by all rights, is now at your fingertips. The project was launched as back as 2013. Earlier that year the idea of creating a catalog of molivdovuls from Ukrainian lands was born at the international colloquium on Rus' and Byzantine sphragistics in Kyiv, organized by the Institute of Special Historical Disciplines of the Sheremetiev Museum. Fruitful discussions with Mykola Alekseyenko, Fedir Androshchuk, and Hlib Ivakin set the stage for the start of this project by the world-renowned sphragists Werner Seibt and Oleksandr Alf'orov. Unfortunately, the attack of the Russian federation on Ukraine in 2014 and the large-scale attack in 2022 made their corrections. The work I started at the end of 2013 has been conducted in the span of ten years with long interruptions. It is therefore with even greater joy that I present the long-awaited results of this international cooperation.

The Catalog is based on the exhibits in the Museum's sphragistics collection. Most of them come from old collections, and some of them were rescued from being sold abroad. The seals, which became the object of the study, date back to the XI-XIV centuries, although several of them belong to earlier times. Compilers sorted them by territorial and linguistic principles: they come from the Ukraine territories and contain Greek inscriptions. A total of 283 bullae are included in the edition. 136 of the stated seals are Byzantine and 147 are Byzantine-style Rus' seals.

It was decided to make the Catalog in English from the very start. This will allow the work not only to reach a wider spread but also to represent Ukrainian history in the world. At the same time, an attentive reader will notice that «Ukrainian English» is used in the text when they see the spelling of princes' names and titles. Ukrainian news media of the Soviet or Russian school convey names and titles in English with modern Russian pronunciation: «Vladimir», «Kiev», «Chernigov», «Russia» instead of «Volodymyr», «Kyiv», «Chernihiv», «Rus'». For instance, it is common in English literature to apply the procedure of cultural equivalence and substitute the title of Ukrainian kniaz' with prince. In this Catalog, the term kniaz' is used to refer to this title, which might not be familiar to the English-speaking audience. The title "prince" is a product of the late Romanovs, the emperor's younger relatives. They wished to be perceived in Europe as princes of blood, rather than the clumsy, to their taste, word kniaz'. This is firmly rooted in foreign-language historiography. Therefore the real meaning of the status of kniaz' during the medieval Ukrainian state of Rus' was diminished. In the opinion of the compilers, the return to the use of authentic titlature is appropriate.

By structure, this catalog is divided into two parts. The first part contains descriptions of purely Byzantine seals. These are the seals of emperors, officials from the imperial court and provincial administrations, as well as officials from various departments, army leaders, clergy, and seals for personal use. This section is very important for the Ukrainian history of the XI-XII cc. The seals show us direct communication between Byzantium and Rus' at various levels. The molds of the emperors Konstantinos IX Monomachos (the grandfather of Kniaz' Volodymyr Monomakh), Nikephoros III Votaniatus, Alexios I Comnenus and Manuel I Comnenus are of special importance in this context. Unfortunately, no documents remain of this international correspondence, but only mute witnesses - imperial bullae. However, even they testify to extremely important milestones of Ukrainian history. Sphragistic monuments and other examples clearly show the fact the contacts with Byzantium were not sporadic. Special attention should be paid to some of the officials who sent more than one letter to Rus'. Two seals of Theophylact the

Дорогі Друзі!

Ви тримаєте в руках непересічне видання – каталог візантійських та виконаних у візантійській манері руських печаток з України. Проєкт було розпочато далекого 2013-го. Того року Інститут спеціальних історичних дисциплін Музею Шереметьєвих організував міжнародний колоковіум з руської та візантійської сфрагістики у Києві. Під час його проведення народилась ідея створення каталогу молівдовулів із українських земель. Плідні обговорення разом із Миколою Алексеєнком, Федором Андрощуком і Глібом Івакіним створили підґрунтя для початку цього проєкту знаними у світі сфрагістами Вернером Зайбтом та Олександром Алфьоровим. На превеликий жаль, напад російської федерації на Україну 2014 року та широкомасштабний напад 2022 року вніс свої корективи. Розпочата наприкінці 2013 року робота з довгими перервами тривала десять років. Через те, ще з більшою радістю я презентую довгоочікувані результати цієї міжнародної співпраці.

В основі Каталогу – експонати, що зберігаються в сфрагістичній колекції Музею. Більшість із них мають походження зі старих колекцій, деякі були врятовані від продажу за кордон. Печатки, що стали об'єктом дослідження, належать до XI–XIV ст., хоча кілька з них відносяться до ранішого часу. Упорядники їх об'єднали за територіальним та мовним принципом: вони походять з території України та містять грецькі інскрипції. У цілому до видання увійшло 283 булли. З них 136 візантійських та 147 руських, що виконані у візантійській манері.

Із самого початку створення Каталогу було вирішено робити його англomовним. Це дозволить праці вийти на новий рівень, а й одночасно репрезентувати українську історію у світі. Водночас, уважний читач помітить, що в тексті вжито «українську англійську». Це відчутно в написанні імен князів та назвах. Українські медієвісти совєтської або російської школи передають імена та назви в англійській сучасною російською вимовою: «Vladimir», «Kiev», «Chernigov», «Russia» замість «Volodymyr», «Kyiv», «Chernihiv», «Rus'». Не оминули автори і популярної в англomовній літературі передачі титулу наших князів, як «prince». Переважно вони використовують незвичке англomовній аудиторії слово «kniaz'». Титул «принц» – є породження доби пізніх Романових, молодших родичів імператора. Вони бажали бути сприйнятими у Європі принцями крові, аніж неоковирним, на їх смак, словом «князь». Це міцно вкоренився в іномовній історіографії. Через те, реальне значення статусу князів у часи середньовічної української держави Русь було зменшене. На думку упорядників повернення до вживання автентичної титулатури є доречним.

За своєю структурою Каталог поділено на дві частини. У першій розміщено описи суто візантійських печаток. Це печатки імператорів, урядників імператорського двору та провінційних адміністрацій, чиновників різноманітних відомств, армійського керівництва, кліру та приватних персон. Цей розділ є дуже важливим для української історії XI–XII ст. Печатки демонструють нам безпосереднє спілкування між Візантією та Руссю на найрізноманітніших рівнях. Особливого значення набувають у цьому контексті молівдовули імператорів Константина IX Мономаха, який став дідом князя Володимира Мономаха, Никифора III Вотаніата, Алексія I Комнина та Мануєля I Комнина. На превеликий жаль, від цієї міжнародної переписки не лишилось документів, а лише німі свідки – імператорські булли. Проте, навіть вони засвідчують надзвичайно важливі віхи української історії. Те, що контакти з Візантією не були спорадичними, яскраво демонструють сфрагістичні пам'ятки і на інших прикладах. Особливо слід звернути увагу на деяких урядників, які надсилали на Русь не один лист. У Каталогі опубліковано дві печатки Феофілакта стратіга Нікополіса.

Stratigus of Nicopolis are published in the catalog. Two more of his seals were published earlier and came from the territory of Novhorod. Incredibly enough, his molivdovuls are not known outside of Rus'. The compilers speculate that perhaps Theophylact was a Russ in imperial service. Or, for example, more than fifteen sphragissos of the judge of Thrace and Macedonia Mykola Zonar are recorded on the territory of the Kyiv state. Three of them are published in this catalog. The appearance of many documents from Byzantine officials of high rank can be interpreted as a fulfillment of some special mission in Rus'. Active correspondence can also testify to the seals of officials of the average level. For example, dissipate Kiriak is represented by 3 molivdovuls in the Catalog and is known for a dozen more. A considerable number of private individuals' bullae are recorded in our territories and are represented in the Catalog. For example, John Ikonata (of more than 20 known, 6 in the Catalog), N. Spondylus (of 11 known, 7 in the Catalog), Constantine Basiliac (of 9 known, 6 in the Catalog) and many others. Such activity pushes conclusions about their considerable incorporation in the life of Rus'. It is also obvious that they could have resided in the territory of the Ukrainian medieval state and control political or commercial affairs.

Attention should be paid to the sphragistics of the Orthodox clergy. Among the top hierarchs is the seal of Patriarch Sergius, who headed the cathedra of Constantinople in the time of Volodymyr the Saint and his immediate successors. The Catalog describes 3 of the 4 molivdovuls of metropolit Vasil of Corfa that are known in our lands. Which, undoubtedly, testifies to his continuous connection with the representatives of the Ukrainian clergy of that time. The seals of several monasteries, among which we note St. Mamas and Christ Philanthropus in Constantinople, and Kozma and Damian near Blachernae confirm the millennial tradition of monastic communion between the Constantinople and Kyiv churches.

The second part presents the Rus' seals. It includes the molivdovuls of kniazi and kniahynias, officials and clergy. Strong attention should be paid to one of the jewels of Ukrainian medieval sphragistics - the seal of Yaroslav "the Wise" with the carved image of his likeness. It was presented to the public back in 2015 at the 5th International Sphragistics Conference in Kyiv, which was jointly held with the Institute of History of Ukraine and the Institute of Ukrainian Archaeography by the Sheremetiev Museum. And now the molivdovul takes its honorable place and opens the medieval Ukrainian part of the Catalog. Among the kniazi sphragistics, two molivdovuls exist in a single copy and thus require special attention - the son of Yaroslav "the Wise" Viacheslav-Merkurios and a unique sphragis of Vsevolod-Andrew with a rhymed inscription.

It is quite pleasing that the compilers, based on the materials of the sphragistics collection, had put an end to the long discussion about the Kniaz' Oleh-Mykhailo Sviatoslavych of Tmutarakan. For decades, a part of his molivdovuls as the ruler of Tmutarakan were attributed to another person. The reason for this, perhaps, is to deny the power of the Chernihiv kniazi over the eastern part of the Crimean peninsula. A telling story happened with one of his seals. It was found in the vicinity of Kerch in the 90s and sold to a private collection in Moscow. The Sheremetiev Museum managed to get it back to Ukraine. Unfortunately, a case like this is generally an exception to the rule nowadays.

The second part of the Catalog includes the molivdovuls of metropolitans, bishops, and clergy of our Orthodox Church, which from the Middle Ages and until recently was under the omophorion of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

In general, the presented stamps contain comments explaining the basic information about

Ще дві його печатки публікувались раніше і походять з території Новгороду. Наймовірніше, але його молівдовули не відомі за межами Русі. Упорядники припускають, що можливо Феофілакт був русом на імператорській службі. Або, наприклад, понад п'ятнадцять сфрагістів судді Фракії та Македонії Миколая Зонара зафіксовано на території Київської держави. Три з них опубліковано у цьому Каталогі. Поява такої кількості документів від візантійського чиновника високого рангу можна трактувати, як виконання на Русі якоїсь особливої місії. Активну переписку можуть засвідчити і печатки урядників середнього рівня. Наприклад дисипат Кіріак представлений 3 молівдовулами у Каталогі та відомий ще за десятком. Значна кількість булл приватних осіб зафіксована на наших територіях і представлені в Каталогі. Наприклад Йоанна Іконата (з понад 20 відомих – 6 у Каталогі), Н. Спондила (з 11 відомих 7 у Каталогі), Константина Базиліака (з 9 відомих – 6 у Каталогі) та багатьох інших. Така активність нашою веде до висновку про їх значну інкорпорацію у життя Русі. Очевидно і те, що вони могли перебувати на території української середньовічної держави і контролювати політичні або торговельні справи.

Варто звернути посилену увагу на сфрагістику православного кліру. Серед вищих ієрархів присутня печатка патріарха Сергія, який очолював Константинопольську катедру у часи Володимира Святого та його найближчих наступників. У Каталогі описано 3 з 4 відомих на наших землях молівдовулів митрополита Корфи Василя. Що, безперечно свідчить про його дуже тривалий зв'язок із представниками тогочасного українського кліру. Печатки ж кількох монастирів, серед яких відзначимо св. Мамма і Христа Філантропа у Константинополі та Козми і Даміана біля Влахерна підтверджують тисячолітню традицію чернечого спілкування Константинопольської та Київської церкви.

Друга частина презентує руські печатки. До неї увійшли молівдовули князів та княгинь, урядників та кліру. Посилену увагу слід звернути на одну з окрас української середньовічної сфрагістики – печатку Ярослава Мудрого з його прижиттєвим зображенням. Вона, була презентована громадськості ще у 2015 році на 5-ій міжнародній сфрагістичній конференції у Києві, що їх спільно з Інститутом історії України НАН України та Інститутом археографії та джерелознавства імені М. Грушевського НАН України проводив Музей Шереметьєвих. А тепер молівдовул зайняв своє почесне місце та відкриває середньовічну українську частину Каталогу. Серед княжої сфрагістики звернімо увагу на два молівдовули, що існують у єдиному екземплярі – сина Ярослава Мудрого В'ячеслава-Меркурія та унікальний сфрагіст Всеволода-Андрія з римованим написом.

Надзвичайно приємно, що упорядники, на основі матеріалів сфрагістичної колекції поставили крапку у довготривалій дискусії з приводу Тмутараканського князя Олега-Михайла Святославича. Десять років частину його молівдовулів, як правителя Тмутаракані відносили до іншої людини. Зокрема, мабуть, і у прагненні заперечити владу чернігівських князів над східною частиною Криму. Зауважу, що з однією з його печаток відбулась показова історія. Її знайшли в околицях Керчі у 90-х роках і продали у приватну колекцію до Москви. Музею Шереметьєвих вдалось її повернути в Україну. Це, на превеликий жаль, одиничні випадки у наш час.

У другу частину Каталогу увійшли молівдовули митрополитів, єпископів і духовенства нашої православної церкви, що з середньовіччя донедавна перебувала під омофором Константинопольського патріархату.

У цілому зауважу, що представлені печатки містять коментарі, які пояснюють основну інформацію про її власника. А ґрунтовний опис булл дозволяє дізнатись відому на

their owners. And a thorough description of the bullae allows us to know the number of parallel copies known to date, which will be useful to researchers of the history of Kyivan Rus' and the Byzantium.

In conclusion, I would like to thank everyone who took part in conceptualizing the idea of this project - Mykola Alekseyenko, Fedir Androshchuk and the late Gleb Ivakin. Implementation of the work would not be possible without the restoration and rescue of the exhibits by Victoriia Davydyuk, photos by Danylo Krasnov and invaluable advice from Oleksii Artyukhin. I cannot omit the inspired approach and creation of beautiful designs by Anna Kuripka.

Between these lines, I leave a special thank you to the publisher Hanna Sherman, whom I owe for the long-term care she provided for the project.

With words of sincere gratitude, I address the academician Valery Smoliy, Director of the Institute of History of Ukraine, Gennady Boryak, Deputy Director of the Institute of History of Ukraine and Valery Tomazov, Head of the Section of Genealogical and Heraldic Studies of the Institute of History of Ukraine, Director of the Institute of Ukrainian Archaeography George Papakin for their help and long-term cooperation in holding international conferences and patronage of publications on special historic disciplines of the Museum.

Special thanks go to Professor Werner Seibt, who, in cooperation with Oleksandr Alf'orov, spearheaded the creation of this Catalog.

I dedicate the last sentences of my opening remarks to those whom I always think of first, but to whom, due to my museum and research projects, I, unfortunately, often pay attention in the last place, like where these lines are. I want to thank my extended family for their indescribable patience and incredible support.

*Oleksii Sheremetiev,
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сьогоднішній день кількість паралельних екземплярів, що стане в нагоді дослідникам історії Київської Русі та Візантії.

Насамкінець я хочу щиро подякувати всім, хто долучився до народження ідеї цього проєкту – Миколі Алексєєнко, Федору Андрощуку та нині покійному Глібу Івакіну. Реалізація роботи не була б можлива без реставрації та порятунку експонатів Вікторією Давидюк, фотографій Данила Краснова та безцінних порад Олексія Артюхіна. Не можу оминати натхненного підходу та створення прекрасного дизайну Анною Куріпкою.

Між цими рядками я залишаю особливе місце із зазначенням, що довготривалою опікою проєкту я завдячую видавчині – Ганні Шерман.

Із словами щирої подяки звертаюсь до директора Інституту історії України НАН України, академіка Валерія Смоля, заступника директора Інституту історії України НАН України Геннадія Боряка та завідувача Сектору генеалогічних та геральдичних досліджень Інституту історії України НАН України Валерія Томазова, директора Інституту української археографії та джерелознавства імені М. Грушевського НАН України Георгія Папакіна за допомогу та багаторічну співпрацю у проведенні міжнародних сфрагістичних конференцій та патрунуванню видань зі спеціальних історичних дисциплін Музею.

Особливі слова вдячності складаю професору Вернеру Зайбту, який очолив процес створення разом із Олександром Алфьоровим цього Каталогу.

Останні ж речення свого вступного слова я присвячую тим, про кого думаю завжди найперше, але кому, через мої музейні та наукові проєкти, приділяю увагу, на жаль, як і у цих рядках часто останнім. Я хочу подякувати моїй великій сім'ї за невимовне терпіння та неймовірну підтримку.

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CONTENTS

Preface	18
Abbreviations	20
Technical reductions	21

PART ONE

BYZANTINE SEALS FROM RUS' TERRITORY

I. THE PALACE

1. The Emperor

1. Konstantinos IX Monomachos, autokrator of the Romaioi	26
2. Nikephoros III Botaneiates, basileus	28
3. Alexios I Komnenos, despotes	30
4. Manuel I Komnenos, porphyrogennetos despotes	32

2. Palace offices

1. Demetrios or Euphemianos(?), imperial protospatharios or imperial spatharios(?) and epi tou manglabiou	34
2. Nikephoros, patrikios, praipositos, vestarches and protobestiarios	36
3. Joseph, magistros and protostrator	38

3. Official Ranks

A. Dishypatos

1. Kyriakos, dishypatos	40
-------------------------	----

B. Hypatos

1. Niketas, hypatos	42
---------------------	----

C. Kouropalates

1. Ioannes Komnenos, kouropalates	43
-----------------------------------	----

D. Magistros

1. Demetrios Kazanes, magistros	44
2. Konstantinos Korones, magistros	46

E. Ostiarios

1. Leon, ostiarios	48
--------------------	----

F. Patrikios Bestes

1. Ioannes, patrikios and bestes	50
----------------------------------	----

G. Primikerios

1. Leon Petzementes, primikerios	52
----------------------------------	----

H. Proedros

1. Michael Kotertzes, proedros	56
2. Ioannes(?) Spanopoulos, proedros	58
3. Ioannes, proedros	60

I. Protospatharios

1. Loukas, protospatharios	61
----------------------------	----

J. Sebaste

1. Helene, sebaste	62
--------------------	----

K. Spatharokandidatos	
1. Anastasios, spatharokandidatos	63
2. Nikolaos Pios(?), spatharokandidatos	64

II. OFFICES OF THE CENTRAL DEPARTMENTS OF THE EMPIRE

1. The Imperial Chancery

A. Asekretis	
1. Ioannes, spatharokandidatos and asekreteis	68
B. Protonotarios	
1. Leon, imperial protospatharios and protonotarios	69

2. Fiscal Departments

A. Genikos logothetes	
1. Basileios, patrikios, imperial protospatharios and genikos logothetes	70
B. Sakellarios	
1. Theodoros Stypeiotes, protonobellisimos and megas sakellarios	72
2. Michael, protospatharios and sakellarios	74

3. Indeterminate Departments

A. Chartoularios	
1. Gregorios Chalkites, chartoularios	76

III. OFFICES AND DEPARTMENTS OF THE ARMY

1. Akolouthos

1. N.N., imperial protospatharios and akolouthos	80
--	----

2. Domestikos of the Anatole

1. Ioannes, ek prosopou of Konstantinos, praetor of the domestikos of the Anatole	82
---	----

3. Droungarios of the Ploimon

1. Konstantinos (?), patrikios praipositos and droungarios of the ploimon	84
---	----

4. Topoteretes

1. Symeon Phagas, protospatharios and topoteretes	86
---	----

IV. PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

1. With toponyms

A. Kibyrraioton	
1. Michael, protospatharios and strategos Kibyrraioton?	90
B. Nikopolis	
1. Theophylaktos, imperial protospatharios and strategos of Nikopolis	92
C. Opsikion	
1. Eustratios Chrysoberges, patrikios, krites of the velon and of the hippodrome and chartoularios of the arkla of Opsikion	94
D. Peloponnesos	
1. Ioannes, imperial protospatharios and strategos of Peloponnesos	96

E. Ros	
1. Kommerkion ton Ros	97
F. Thrace and Macedonia	
1. Nikolaos Zounaras, krites of Thrace and Macedonia	98
2. Without toponyms	
A. Doux	
1. Alexios Tarchaneiotes, proedros and doux	100
B. Strategos	
1. Joseph Charabiotes(?), protospatharios and strategos	101

V. ECCLESIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION

1. Personal Seals

A. Patriarch	
1. Sergios, archbishop (patriarch) of Constantinople, the New Rome	106
B. Metropolitans	
1. Basil, metropolitan of Kerkyra (Corfu)	108
2. Niketas, metropolitan of Nazianzos	109
C. Bishops	
1. Symeon, bishop of Aulon	112
2. Christophoros, bishop of Beroe	113
3. Ioannes, bishop of Settai	114
D. Abbots / abbesses	
1. Petros, kouboukleisios and hegoumenos of the monastery of Angourios(?)	116
2. Philemona, hegoumene	117
E. Monks	
1. Alexios, monk	118
2. Klemes, monk	118
3. Theodoros, monk(?)	119

2. Corporate Seals

A. Monastery	
1. The Monastery(?) of Christos Philanthropos	122
2. The Monastery (or a church) of the Hagioi Apostoloi	123
3. The Monastery of the Anargyroi of Kosmidion	124
4. (The Monastery) of St. Mamas	125

VI. SEALS OF PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS

1. Patronymic Seals

1. Alakasseus Konstantinos	132
2. Armenios(?) Leon	134
3. Basilakios(?) Konstantinos	136
4. Beridares Leon	140
5. Boulikipoulos (or Koulikipoulos?) Gregorios	142
6. Brachames Theodoros	143
7. Chliarenos Konstantinos	144
8. Gialites Georgios	145
9. Hikanatos Ioannes or Andreas	148
10. Kalophoros Niketas	152
11. Kerames Konstantinos	153
12. Pagomenos(?) Pankratios	154
13. Phardos(?) Theodoros	155
14. Spondyles	158

15. Tzanzas Niketas	162
---------------------	-----

2. Seals with Personal Names

1. Bouges (Mpouges)	164
2. Ioannes	166
3. Kontoleon(?)	167
4. Konstantinos	168
5. Konstantinos	169
6. Michael	172
7. Niketas	173
8. Petros	174
9. Stephanos	175

3. Monogramatic Seal

1. N.N., apo eparchon(?)	178
--------------------------	-----

4. Anonymous Seals

A. With Text

1. Anonymous (Georgios?)	179
--------------------------	-----

B. With Text and Saint

1. Anonymous (Nikolaos?)	180
--------------------------	-----

C. With two saints

1. Iconographic seal with St. Georgios and St. Demetrios	181
--	-----

VII. SEALS WITH INCOMPLETE OR PROBLEMATIC TEXT

1. Chalkites(?) Ioannes, mandator and chartoularios (or notarios or basilikos) of the dromos	186
2. Gabriel, imperial protospatharios...	187
3. Georgios...	188
4. Karases(?) Pekapetros(?)	189
5. Michael, protospatharios and strategos of ...	192
6. N.N. (Sergios?) ...	193
7. Tatikes(?) Leon, protonobellisimos(?)	194
8. Theodoros ...	195
9. N.N. (11 th c., second to third third)	198
10. N.N. (second half 11 th – first quarter 12 th c.)	199
11. N.N. (late 11 th – first half 12 th c.)	200

PART TWO

RUS' SEALS IN BYZANTINE STYLE

I. GRAND PRINCES/ VELYKYI KNIAZ', PRINCES/ KNIAZ' AND PRINCESSES/ KNIAHYNIA OF RUS'

1. The Grand Prince of Rus'

1. Yaroslav-Georgios Volodymyrovych, (megas) archon of Rus'	206
2. Vsevolod-Andreas Yaroslavych	218
3. Volodymyr-Basileios Monomach	232
4. Mstyslav-Konstantinos, megas archon of Rosia	240

2. Princes/ Kniaz

1. Viacheslav-Merkourios Yaroslavych, archon Rosias (kniaz' of Smolensk)	246
2. Oleh-Michael Sviatoslavych, archon and doux of Matracha and all Chazaria, archon Rosias	248
3. Davyd Ihorovych, archon Rosias	258
4. Manuel, ὁ τοῦ Ἀρχοντος	264
5. Georgios	265
6. Davyd Rostyslavych(?), archon Rosias	266
7. Sevlot / Vsevolod	270
8. Andreas	271

3. Princesses

1. Maria, nun, the most noble archontissa	272
2. Theophanou Mouzalonissa, archontissa Rusias	276

II. OFFICES OF PRINCES

1. Rank titles

1. Eustathios, protoproedros	280
------------------------------	-----

2. The Princes' Chancery

1. Gregorios, notary	284
----------------------	-----

3. Without rank title or office

1. Andreas	288
------------	-----

III. ECCLESIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE METROPOLIS OF RUS'

1. Metropolitans

A. Metropolitans of Rus' (Kyiv)

1. Ioannes I, metropolitan of Rosia	292
2. Theopemptos, metropolitan of Rosia	294
3. Georgios, metropolitan of Rosia and synkellos	296
4. Nikephoros I, (metropolitan) of Rosia	300
5. Niketas, bishop of Rosia	302
6. Michael II, ποιμενάρχης of Rosia	304
7. Konstantinos I, metropolitan of all Rosia	310
8. Ioannes IV, Ρωσικοῦ ποιμὴν ἔθνους	314
9. Konstantinos II, proedros of Rosia	316
10. Michael III, ποιμενάρχης of Rosia	318
11. Nikephoros II, ποιμενάρχης of all Rosia	320
12. Ioseph, metropolitan of Rosia	328
13. Kyrillos III, archbishop of the metropolis of Rosia	330
14. Nikephoros, metropolitan of all Rusia	336
15. Maximos, metropolitan of all Rosia and hypertimos	338

B. Metropolitan of New Rusia (Chernihiv)

1. Neophytos, metropolitan of New Rusia	340
---	-----

C. Metropolitan of Rosia (Pereyaslav?)

1. Ephraim, metropolitan of Rosia	342
-----------------------------------	-----

2. Bishops

A. Bilhorod

- 1. Loukas, bishop (of Bilhorod) 344
- 2. Nikolaos, bishop of Bilhorod 348

B. Bryansk

- 1. Maximos, (bishop) of Bryansk(?) 350

C. Chernihiv

- 1. Antonios, (bishop) of Chernihiv 352

D. Halych

- 1. Kosmas, (bishop) of Halych 354
- 2. Ioannes, bishop of Halych 358

E. Novgorod

- 1. [Ioannes(?), (bishop) of Novgorod 360
- 2. Niphon, (bishop) of Novgorod 364

F. Polotsk

- 1. Dionysios, bishop of Polotsk 366

G. Rostov

- 1. Leontios, bishop of Rostov 368

H. Yuriev

- 1. Michael, bishop (of Yur'iv) 370

I. Without toponym

- 1. Thomas, bishop 371

J. Anonymous

- 1. N.N. (12th c.) 374
- 2. N.N. (12th c., perhaps second half) 378

3. Abbots

- 1. Prochoros, abbot 380

4. Monk

- 1. Leon Spileotes, monk 381

IV. APPENDIX

- 1. Georgios(?) 386

BIBLIOGRAPHY

390

INDEX

- 1. Personal names 404
- 2. Geographical names 409
- 3. Titles and governments 414
- 4. Iconography 416
- 5. Inscriptions on seals 417

PREFACE

PREFACE

Among the numerous seal collections in Ukraine, Belarus and in the Russian Federation, the collection of Byzantine and Byzantine-style Rus' seals in the Sheremetiev museum is distinguished by its importance making rich information available as a historical source.

Our catalogue consists of two parts. The first part consists of the actual Byzantine seals of Byzantine citizens found in the Rus' territory. The second part features seals of Rus' dignitaries, including senior clergy of Byzantine origin, executed in Byzantine manner, with Greek letters.

The seals are a good indicator of the changing intensity of Byzantine-Rus' relations. We realize at a glance that the baptism of Olha and Volodymyr in the tenth century constituted no real watershed of more frequent relations, which only intensified around the middle of the eleventh century, when the Rus'ian attack on Constantinople in 1043 was followed by a lasting peace and political marriage. The bulk of the seals date between this period and the reign of Alexios Komnenos, attesting to intensive economic, cultural and political contacts. When we come across several seals of a single Byzantine individual, we should consider the possibility that he was present in the Rus' at least for some time. Earlier seals found in the Rus' territory are few; they belong to Byzantine dignitaries, notably military commanders, but include no private ones (with or without mention of a title).

Byzantium of the mid-eleventh century was still an expanding superpower, with a strong economy producing highly esteemed luxury goods. No one realized at the time the looming financial crisis and the rising threat by new enemies at the borders. The Rus' were still united under the authority of Kniaz' Yaroslav "the Wise", whose death in 1054 gave rise to the more or less autonomous principalities of his sons, who sometimes fought each other. This division facilitated Byzantine activities in different principalities. But soon the "Byzantine heaven" became darker, economy broke down, many important districts were lost. It could well be that some Byzantine refugees tried to make their fortune in the north. The weakened empire now became a less interesting partner for Rus' kniaz' though both parties had common nomadic enemies.

The seals of grand princes in Byzantine style, sometimes with a surprising variety of boulloteria, start with Yaroslav shortly before the middle of the eleventh century and continue till Mstyslav († 1132). The bulk of princely seals date from the second half of the eleventh to the early twelfth century.

A major group of seals belongs to the metropolitans of the Rus'. These high-ranking clerics, consecrated in Constantinople, could order a first boulloterion in the capital, and indeed, some of their seals point to boulloteria of the highest quality. The earliest seal belongs to Metropolitan Theopemptos, mentioned in the Chronicle in 1039; we date the seal to ca. 1037-ca. 1043. The seals of Ioannes may be either slightly earlier or later; we prefer the later date, without ruling out the one before ca. 1037. This could suggest that the fully organized church hierarchy of the Rus', with a metropolitan and several suffragan bishops, did not emerge immediately after Volodymyr's baptism in the late tenth century, but rather in the early eleventh century. Perhaps the patriarch appointed first a single (missionary) archbishop for the Rus'. From the middle of the eleventh to the end of the twelfth century, the majority of the metropolitans are documented by their seals, followed by two metropolitans from the second half of the thirteenth century. Two types of seals from the last third of the eleventh century can be attributed to the metropolitans of Chernihiv and Pereiaslav.

A number of seals, especially from the later eleventh and twelfth century, mention Rus'ian suffragan bishops. An interesting seal of a monk who calls himself "Spelaiotes" only survives in specimens found in Ukraine; we assume that he belonged to the well-known Cave monastery of Kyiv.

Since the seals collection published here is located in Kyiv, and the center of Rus' was in modern Ukraine, we prefer the Ukrainian transcription of personal and geographic names.

Primarily, we would like to thank the director of the Sheremetiev's Family Museum of Historical and Cultural Rarities, Mr. Oleksii Sheremetiev, a real patron of sigillography, who continues to collect seals of primary importance for Ukraine's history, with enthusiasm and the taste of a specialist, ever striving to see his treasures published. We would also like to thank Fedir Androshchuk, who introduced Werner Seibt to Oleksii Sheremetiev some years ago and contributed to the commentary of different princely seals, as well as Constantin Zuckerman to whom we are obliged for many important suggestions, and Nikita Khrapunov who assisted in the editing of the volume. Many thanks to Victoria Davydyuk for the restoration. Georgios Chatzelis tried hard to improve our English. For most of the excellent photographs we thank Danylo Krasnov. The images are magnified a little bit to enhance the reader's visibility of the material and his/her ability to check on our reading and dating.

ABBREVIATIONS

ANS: American Numismatic Society

ByzSl: Byzantinoslavica

BZ: Byzantinische Zeitschrift

CFHB: Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae

CSS: California Slavic Studies

DOC III: Grierson Ph., Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and Whittemore Collection. III. Washington 1973.

DOSeals: Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art. I–VI. Washington 1991–2009.

DRVM: Древняя Русь. Вопросы медиевистики

EI: Encyclopédie de l'Islam. Nouvelle édition. Leiden – Paris 1954ff.

HUS: Harvard Ukrainian Studies

IFEB: Institut français d'études byzantines (Paris)

INDU: Історико-географічні дослідження в Україні: Збірка наукових праць

JÖB: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

KS: Киевская старина

LbG: Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts, ed. E. Trapp et alii. Wien 1994–2017.

LMA: Lexikon des Mittelalters

MAIET: Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии

MSAI: Материалы спасательных археологических исследований

NE: Νέος Ἑλληνομύμων. Athens 1904–1927

NF: Нумизматика и фалеристика

NNZIA: Новгород и новгородская земля: история и археология

NPL: Новгородская первая летопись

NSE: Нумизматика, сфрагистика и эпиграфика

NTSh: Записки наукового товариства ім. Шевченка

NZUI: Наукові записки з української історії. Збірник наукових статей

ODB: The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. I–III, ed. A. Kazhdan – A.-M. Talbot et al. New York – Oxford 1991.

PG: Patrologiæ cursus completus. Series græca

PLP: Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit, ed. E. Trapp et alii. Wien 1976–1996.

PLRE III: Martindale J. R., The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire. III. Cambridge 1992.

PmbZ: Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Berlin–New-York 1999–2013.

PrU: Православ'я в Україні

PSRL: Полное собрание русских летописей

PU: Пам'ятки України: історія та культура

RA: Российская археология

REB: Revue des études byzantines

RLO: Русь, Литва, Орда в памятниках нумизматики и сфрагистики

SA: Советская археология

SBS: Studies in Byzantine Sigillography

SCIV: Studii și cercetări de istorie veche

SKVRU: Софія Київська: Візантія. Русь. Україна. I–V. Київ 2011–2016.

SSb: Сугдейский сборник

SSh: Сфрагістичний щорічник

TIB: Tabula Imperii Byzantini. Wien 1976–.

TIIMK: Труды Института исследований материальной культуры

TGE: Труды Государственного Эрмитажа

TM: Travaux et mémoires

VID: Вспомогательные исторические дисциплины

VV: Византийский временник

WBS: Wiener Byzantinistische Studien

TECHNICAL REDUCTIONS

c. – city;
D – total diameter;
D₂ – the inner diameter of the rim;
d. – district;
g. – gram;
H – height;
h. – hour;
l. – left;
mm. – millimeters;
o. – oblast' (region);
Obv. – obverse;
Publ. – publication;
r. – right;
Rev. – reverse;
v. – village;
VP – category of lead seals in the museum collection;
W – weight.

PART ONE

**BYZANTINE SEALS
FROM RUS' TERRITORY**

I. THE PALACE

1. The Emperor

1. Emperor Konstantinos IX Monomachos

VP-1590.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 33×35 mm. D₂. 28 mm.

H. 5.5 mm. W. 30.2 g.

Find-spot:

Tarashcha city, Tarashcha district, Kyiv oblast'.

Analogies:

Probably auction Hirsch 271, 17.-19.2.2011, 2698; very similar are DO 58.106.631 (DOSeals VI 73.11) and Athens 280a.



Obv. Half-length image of Christ with a short, curled beard, wearing a nimbus cruciger, decorated with five pellets, his right hand raised in blessing (nearly lost) and holding the Gospels in his left. On left side of the Savior's head, letters: **XC**: [Ι(ησοῦ)ς] Χ(ριστό)ς: *Jesus Christ*. Circular inscription: **NOVHA**: [Ἐμμ]ανουήλ: *Emmanuel*.

Border of dots.



Rev. Half-length representation of Emperor Konstantine IX bearded, wearing a crown with a cross and pendilia (ending with three jewels) and loros, holding a long cross sceptre (r. hand) and a globus cruciger (l. hand). Circular inscription: **+CΩ.....ΑΥΟCΡΑΤΩΡ.:** Cω[nstantin(os)] α(u)tocrat(or) R[(o)-m(aion)]: *Konstantinos, autokrator of the Romaioi*.

Border of dots.

Date:

1042–1055.



Commentary:

Konstantinos IX Monomachos employed on his seals the title *basileus* or *autocrator* respectively *autocrator Romaion*; in our case there is clearly the mistake *atocrator* instead of *autocrator*, combining our seal with the mentioned analogies. Apart of this mistake the boulloterion was very well cut. The seal came probably with a letter (and presents) to the knyaz' of Kyiv. There were two Byzantine embassies to knyaz' Volodymyr (Volodimer in the Rus'ian primary chronicle) ca. June 1043,¹ and around 1047 a peace treaty was agreed with the Rus', and Vsevolod, Yaroslav's son, married a Byzantine princess, a Monomachaina.² But there were also other possibilities for diplomatic contacts. Up to this date, Konstantinos Monomachos used mostly Latin letters for his Greek imperial signature on his seals, a pactice which was abandoned soon afterwards.

¹ DÖLGER – WIRTH 859–860.

² DÖLGER – WIRTH 879a; SEIBT, Dobronega.

2. Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates

VP-225.

Publ.:

ANDROSHCHUK,
Imperial Seals 2.

Dimensions:

D. 31×35 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 21.2 g. Bent, hit,
blank too small for die.
The channel of the seal
runs from 12 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

vicinity of Shestovytsia
village, Chernihiv dis-
trict, Chernihiv oblast'.

Analogies:

DO 58.106.648
(approximate).

Publ.:

DOSeals VI 85.12.



Obv. Bust of Christ, lightly bearded, with a nimbus cruciger (the arms decorated with five pellets [::]). Christ is wearing a tunic and a himation, with his right hand is blessing and with his left he is holding the Gospels (the cover is decorated with pearls). From the sigla only **IC** is visible: **Ι(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστός)**: *Jesus Christ*.

Border of dots.



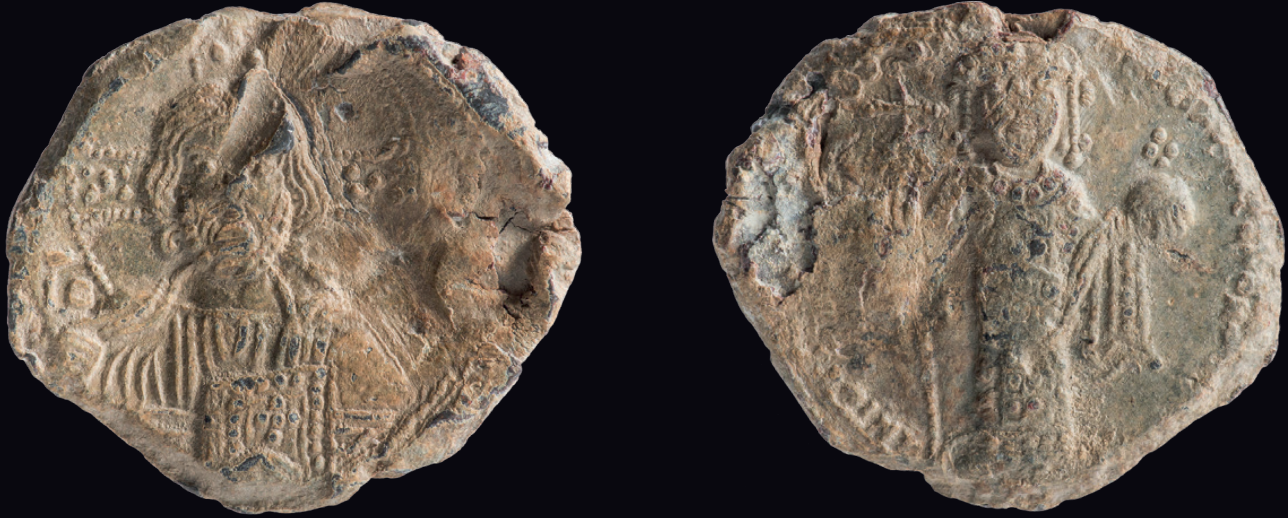
Rev. Standing figure of the emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates, wearing a crown with pendilia, and the imperial loros (the richly decorated end of which is draped over the left wrist). On most of his seals, the emperor holds a long labarum in his left hand, but in this one, the item rather resembles a big processional cross.³ He holds a globus cruciger in his right hand. Traces of a circular inscription in small letters along the border: **. NIKH Λ . . . ONORO**, probably reading: **[+] Νικη[φόρος βασι]λ[εὺς] [Ρωμ(αί)](ων) ὁ Βο[τανιάτ(ης)]**⁴: *Nikephoros Botaneiates, basileus of the Romaioi*.

Date:

1078–1081
(perhaps
1078–1079).

³ Just like on *Berlin II*: 183; CHEYNET et al., *Istanbul* 1.40; a specimen found in many auctions, e.g. auction Münz Zentrum 131, 11.1.2006, 1008; 100, 8.-10.9.1999, lot 818, no. 133; 93, 8.-9.1.1998, 589; 88, 7.-9.1.1997, 1214; 78, 7.-9.9.1994, 806; auction Schenk-Behrens (Essen) 28.-30.5.1997, 517; 13.-15.6.1996, 985; auction Hirsch 185, 15.-18.2.1995, 1508; auction Lanz 62, 26.11.1992, 963; and perhaps also DOSeals VI 85.12. On these seals the cross is additionally crossed in the lower part forming the letter Chi, similar to a type of coins issued by Botaneiates. For this detail cf. PAPADOPOULOU 649–662, esp. 657f. Perhaps that was also the case on our bull, but this part is damaged.

⁴ This reconstruction is not certain. On a similar seal in DO the editor read **βασιλεύς** (DOSeals VI 85.12), but on another one in Istanbul the editors preferred **Νικηφόρος ὁ δεσπότης**, without the family name (CHEYNET et al., *Istanbul* 1.40).



Commentary:

Nikephoros Botaneiates reigned only for a few years, but more than two dozens of his lead seals are extant today, representing different groups.⁵ The majority uses the dative for the reverse legend and prefers the title δεσπότης to βασιλεύς. Where the reverse legend is readable, we can discern three abbreviated different forms of the word δεσπότης: ΔΕΣΠΟΤ, ΔΕΣΠ,Τ or only ΔΕΣΠ.⁶

The other seal types, which are less usual, use the title βασιλεύς in the nominative (much like the present seal). Probably the legends in dative are the later ones. On the grounds that they became popular by Nikephoros III's successors, and in accordance with numismatic evidence, whereby the missing family name in the legends usually denotes the earliest version. These indicia point to an early dating of our seal type, ca. 1078–1079. It could well be that the seal stems from an imperial letter to a kniaz' in the Rus' informing him about the coronation of the successful usurper Botaneiates.

⁵ Cf. e.g. *DOSeals* VI 85.1-12; SOKOLOVA, *Печати императоров* 145–146; Seibt, *Österreich* I 26; ZACOS – VEGLERY 98; JORDANOV, *Corpus* III 120; SEIBT – ZARNITZ 1.1.8. There are more in auction catalogues.

⁶ Cf. SEIBT – ZARNITZ, l.c.

3. Emperor Alexios I Komnenos

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-930.



Publ.:

ΑΛΨ'ΟΡΟΝ, Κατάλογ 12;
ANDROSCHUK, Imperial
Seals 47, fig. 3.

Analogy:

DO 58.106.509 and 613;
Hermitage M-4527
and 11178.

Dimensions:

D. 30 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 21.1 g. One hole
in the upper part.

Publ.:

DOSeals VI 88.1 and 6;
СОКОЛОВА, Печати
императоров 147 and 150.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.

b) second boulloterion

2. VP-1591.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 33×37 mm.
D₂. 27.5 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 22 g. Two holes in the
upper and lower part.
The channel of the seal
runs from 11 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

outskirts of Chernihiv,
Chernihiv oblast'.

Obv. Christ seated on a square-backed throne, wearing a nimbus cruciger (with a single dot in the cross-arms). His right hand is raised in blessing and he holds the Gospels with his left. The many types of Alexios' imperial seals differ considerably in their depiction of the throne's upper part. The throne of the first boulloterion has one leg at the left but two ones at the right. The second boulloterion, damaged by pressure, has only one leg at right side. The usual sigla $\overline{\text{IC}} - \overline{\text{XC}}$: $\overline{\text{I}}(\eta\sigma\sigma\omega)\varsigma \overline{\text{X}}(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o})\varsigma$: *Jesus Christ* (are preserved on both the first and second boulloterion).

Border of dots.

Rev. Standing figure of an emperor, wearing a crown (with pendilia) and loros (which is more accentuated at one of its ends, hanging down from the left elbow). He holds a globus cruciger (l. hand) and a long labarum (r. hand). Traces of a circular inscription are visible along the border: $\overline{\omega\Delta\epsilon\varsigma}$: $[+\overline{\text{A}}\lambda\epsilon\zeta\acute{\iota}\overline{\omega} \overline{\delta\epsilon\sigma}[\acute{\rho}\acute{o}\tau\eta \tau\tilde{\omega} \text{Κομνην}\tilde{\omega}]]$: *Alexios Komnenos, despotes* (first boulloterion); $\overline{\rho\omicron} . . \overline{\kappa}$: $[+\overline{\text{A}}\lambda\epsilon\zeta\acute{\iota}\overline{\omega} \overline{\delta\epsilon\sigma}-\acute{\rho}\acute{o}[\tau(\eta \tau(\tilde{\omega}))] \overline{\kappa}[\omicron\mu\eta\nu\eta\nu\tilde{\omega}]]$: *Alexios Komnenos, despotes* (second boulloterion).

Border of dots.

Date:

1081–1118.

1. VP-930.



2. VP-1591.

**Commentary:**

Alexios I Komnenos used during his long reign boulloteria with minimal differences. Unfortunately, there are not any clear indicia for the chronological order of these boulloteria. We can only guess that the first boulloterion belonged to the earlier types. The addressee of the imperial letters was probably the prince of Chernihiv, as both seals were found in this region. F. Androshchuk argued that the emperor could have sent a letter (signed with the first seal) to Oleh Sviatoslavych, while the latter was the ruler of Chernihiv (1094–1097).⁷ An alternative theory connects this seal with the activities of Nikolaos Zounaras in the kniazivstvo ('princedom') of Chernihiv.⁸

⁷ ANDROSHCHUK, *Imperial Seals*, p. 48–50.

⁸ Cf. SEIBT – HULECKI – TIGUNTSEV.

4. Emperor Manuel I Komnenos

VP-719.

Publ.:

ANDROSHCHUK,
Imperial Seals 5.

Dimensions:

D. 41×43 mm. D₂. 36 mm.
H. 3.5 mm. W. 43.7 g.
Three holes in the upper part; poorly printed on the sides.

Find-spot:

in the vicinity of Kyiv.

Analogies:

- a) former Zacos Collection;
- b) DO 55.1.4350;
- c) Likhachev collection (Hermitage M-7907).

Publ.:

- a) ZACOS – VEGLERY 107a;
- b) DOSeals VI 93.3;
- c) СОКОЛОВА, Печати императоров 168.



Obv. Half-length image of young, beardless Christ, wearing a tunic and himation, with a nimbus cruciger (the arms are decorated with five pellets [::]); Christ's right hand is raised in blessing, while his left bears a scroll (not the book of Gospels). On either side of the Savior's head one finds the sigla ..-XC: [I(ησοῦ)ς] X(ριστό)ς: Jesus Christ. The epitheton appears in two columns: Ω | . Μ|ΜΑ – ΝΘ|ΗΛ: ὁ [Ἑ]μμανουήλ: *Emmanuel*.
Border of dots.

Rev. Standing figure of an emperor, wearing a crown (with pendilia) and the imperial loros. He holds an akakia (l. hand) and a labarum (r. hand). Along the border there are indistinct traces of a circular inscription, probably reading: [Μανουήλ δεσπότης ὁ πορφυρογέννητος]: *Manuel, porphyrogennetos, despotes*.
No visible border.

Date:

ca.
1155–1180
(perhaps around 1165).

Commentary:

The emperor Manuel I Komnenos reigned for a long time (1143–1180), and more than two dozens of his seals are known today. There is some variation concerning their diameter, but especially the shape of the ligature Omikron-Ypsilon on the obverse. During Manuel's reign the a horse-shoe form (Ϡ), which was almost the standard one generally used in the first half of the 12th century, became to be replaced by the old ligature, *scil.* a small **v** above a small **o** (ϝ). Judging by the seals which clearly preserve such details, we get the impression that the latter form appears more often, just like on our seal. Based on the above, we propose a dating for the seals with ϝ after ca. 1155.

As this seal was found near Kyiv we may assume, as F. Androshchuk pointed out, that the sealed imperial letter was addressed to the Kyivan kniaz' Rostyslav Mstyslavych (in the Rus'ian primary chronicle, Rostyslav, son of Mstyslav) (ca. 1110–1167). There were two incidents which prompted imperial missions to the Rus': In 1164 Rostyslav refused to



accept the new elected metropolitan Ioannes (Ivan) from Constantinople and sent Guriata Semkovych as ambassador to the emperor. Early in 1165 a Byzantine mission went accompanied with Guriata to Rostyslav to settle the issue (with success).⁹ Another problem, even more urgent, which shadowed Byzantine-Rus' relations, was the following: In 1164 Andronikos Komnenos, who later became emperor, managed to escape from a prison in Constantinople and to flee to knyaz' Yaroslav (ODB Jaroslav) of Halych (ODB Galič). The latter welcomed him, granting him the command of some of his towns. Manuel was not content with the state of affairs and in 1165 he forced Andronikos' return to the capital.¹⁰ It is beyond doubt that this issue was on the agenda of the aforementioned Byzantine embassy.

This seal however, could also stem from another imperial letter to a different knyaz' of the Rus'.

⁹ Cf. DÖLGER – WIRTH 1460.

¹⁰ Cf. BARZOS I 512–516; ANDROSHCHUK, *Imperial Seals*, p. 50–51; DÖLGER – WIRTH 1459 and 1461.

2. Palace offices

1. Demetrios or Euphemianos(?), imperial protospatharios or imperial spatharios(?) and epi tou manglabiou

VP-752.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 28×18 mm. D₂. 2.5 mm.

H. 2.5 mm. W. 7.1 g.

Half of the seal, corroded.

Traces of an earlier im-
print. The channel of the
seal runs from 1 to 7 h.



Find-spot:

Rokytno district, Kyiv oblast'.

Obv. Traces of a standing figure of an
archangel, probably St. Michael. Partly
damaged first half of the invocative cir-
cular inscription: **+KEROHΘEIT**....
... ∴ **+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τ[ῷ] σ[ῶ] δούλ[ῳ]**;
Lord aid Your servant.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

Date:

c. late Xth c.

.. **ΗΜ**
.... **ΩΡ,**
..... **ΑΡΗ**
... **ΠΙΤΟΝ**
... **ΓΛΑΡΗ**
. **ΟΝ·**

[+ Δ]ημ[ητρ(ί)]ω or [Εφ]ημ[ηαν]ῶ (?)
β(ασilikῶ) [(πρωτο)σπαθ]αρ(ί)[ω]
or β(ασilikῶ) [σπαθ]αρ(ί)[ω](?)
[(καὶ) ἐ]πὶ τοῦ [μα]γλαβ(ί)ου.

+ *Lord aid Your servant Demetrios*
(or Euphemianos) imperial protospathar-
ios (or imperial spatharios) and epi tou
manglabiou.

Border of dots.



Commentary:

The relatively primitive figure of the archangel on the obverse points to the second half of the X century. But as closer contacts between Byzantium and the Rus' started only in the late X century, we are inclined to confine the dating of the seal to this period. On both sides of the last reverse line, there were probably four pearls, shaping a cross. The manglabitai were soldiers of the imperial bodyguard.

We don't know any parallel or similar seal of a Demetrios, but there is a similar, albeit earlier seal of a certain Euphemianos as imperial spatharios and manglabites, with a nimbated patriarchal cross on steps and the invocative circular inscription on the obverse.¹¹

¹¹ Auction Triton XI, 8–9 January 2008, 1138. The reverse legend reads: + Ἐφημη-ανῶ βασιλικῶ σπα-θαριῶ (καὶ) ἐπὶ τοῦ μαγλα(βίου). This type is surely earlier than ours, we cannot propose any particular individual as the owner of this seal.

2. Nikephoros, patrikios, praipositos, vestarches and protobestiarios

VP-491.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 28×29.5 mm.

D₂. 24.5 mm.

H. 3.5 mm. W. 16.9 g.

Pressed on the sides, corroded. The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.



Find-spot:

v. Nehrashi, Kyiv-Sviatoshyn district, Kyiv oblast'.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

+K̄ER.
HΘ,TΩC.
ΔΝΙΚΗΦ..
ΠΑΤΡΗ
ΚΙΩ
-.-

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

-.-
ΠΡΑΙ
·QCIT,RE
·TAPX,SA
RECTHA
'PIΩ'

Date:

1025/1026.

Parallel:

DO 47.2.971.

Border of dots.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β[ο]ήθ(ει) τῷ σ[ῶ] δ(ούλ)ῳ
Νικηφ[όρ(ῳ)] πατρ(ι)κίῳ, πραι[π]-
οσίτ(ῳ), βε[σ]τάρχ(η) (καὶ) (πρωτο)-
βεστ(ι)αρίῳ.

+ Lord aid your servant Nikephoros,
patrikios, praipositos, vestarches and pro-
tobestiarios.

Border of dots.



Commentary:

Nikephoros was for some time the second powerful eunuch of Constantine, the brother of Basil II, before Basil's death (December 13, 1025). When Constantine became sole emperor, he promoted his most trusted eunuchs to high-ranking offices, whereby Nikephoros became protobestiarios, second-in-rank in the imperial palace after the parakoimomenos. Skylitzes reports that he was also elevated to the prestigious rank of proedros.¹² The seal stems from the relatively short time span between his investiture as protobestiarios and his elevation to proedros. Nikephoros became later on, in 1035, a monk in the Studiou monastery.¹³

In addition, we know of another type of seal which belonged to a Nikephoros as patrikios praipositos and bestarches, with a bust of St. John Prodromos on the obverse.¹⁴ This could be the seal of our Nikephoros before he became protobestiarios - it cannot be proven beyond doubt though. Provided that an Athenian seal of a Nikephoros bestes, praipositos and megas oikonomos ton euagon¹⁵ belongs to the same eunuch, it would be the earliest of his seals.

¹² Skyl. 30,32–34. Cf. *PmbZ* II 25678. Also GUILLAND, *Recherches* I 221, mentions this Nikephoros, but by mistake under Constantine IX Monomachos.

¹³ Skyl. 398, 84–87.

¹⁴ DO Neg.nr. 55.63.2-2273a.

¹⁵ KONSTANTOPOULOS 252 (also only a legend on both sides of the seal). Cf. *PmbZ* II 25653.

3. Joseph, magistros and protostrator

1. VP-1643.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:

Fastovets' village, Bakchmach district, Chernihiv oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 30.5×31.5 mm.

D₂. 28.5 mm. H. 5 mm.

W. 25.7 g. Hit.

The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 6 h.

2. VP-1644.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

Dimensions:

D. 27×28 mm. H. 5 mm.

W. 20.3 g. Hit, corroded.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodoros holding a long spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Inscription on two columns: Θ|Θ|Ε.
— : Ο (ἅγιος) Θε[όδωρο(ς)];
Saint Theodoros.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

Date:

c. 1045/1055.

+ΚΕΡ,Θ,
ΙΩCΩΔΗ,
ΩCHΦΜΑ
ΠΙCΤΡ,ΣΑ
CΤΡΑΤ
—Ρ,—

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ)
[Ι]ωσήφ μαγίστρ(ω) (καὶ) (πρωτο)-
στράτ(ο)ρ(ι).

+ *Lord aid your servant Joseph, magistros
and protostrator.*

Border of dots.

Commentary:

In the first years after Konstantinos IX Monomachos had become emperor, Romanos Skleros was magistros and protostrator (1042–ca. 1045).¹⁶ Ioseph was probably his (immediate?) successor. Perhaps he did not belong to a noble family, as he does not mention his family name.

The next rank after the magistros was the proedros. We know a relevant seal of a Ioseph proedros, with the following legend on both sides: Σφραγὶς ὑπάρχῳ τῶν γραφῶν / Ἰωσήφ προέδρου,¹⁷ its dating, however, seems to be too late to be associated with our protostrator. Even less

¹⁶ Cf. SEIBT, *Skleroi* 77–79; CHEYNET, *Skleros*, no. 2, fig. 2.

¹⁷ VASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metz. Corpus* II 2952.

1. VP-1643.



2. VP-1644.



likely to be associated with our protostrator, are the seals of a Joseph sebastos from the XII c. which depict a standing figure of St. Theodore on the obverse.¹⁸

The protostrator was the head of the imperial stratores working in the imperial stables. Whenever the emperor left the capital the protostrator accompanied him. This post was important because of its proximity to the emperor.¹⁹ After all, the magistros was still considered a high rank in the middle of the XI century.

¹⁸ Cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metz. Corpus* I 1383.

¹⁹ Cf. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Listes* 337–338.

3. Official Ranks

A. Dishypatos.

1. Kyriakos, dishypatos

1. VP-457.



Publ.:
ALF'OROV, Стосунки 3.

Dimensions:
D. 17 mm. D₂ 11.5 mm.
H. 2.5 mm. W. 3.7 g.
Poorly printed on the sides,
corroded. The canal
runs from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:
Peresopnytsia village,
Rivne district, Rivne oblast'.

2. VP-459.



Publ.:
ALF'OROV, Стосунки 2 (in the
publication mistake: no. 472).

Dimensions:
D. 18×18.5 mm.
D₂ 11.5 mm.
H. 3 mm. W. 5.7 g.
Poorly printed on the
sides. The canal runs
from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:
Mena district,
Chernihiv oblast'.

3. VP-1616.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:
D. 13×15 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 3.2 g.
Poorly printed on the sides.

Find-spot:
Verbychi village, Ripky
district, Chernihiv oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) Private collection of
S. Dyachkov from Velikij
Novgorod (found in
Velikij Novgorod, RF);
- b) Private collection
of N. Shashkov from
St. Petersburg (found
in Belozersk, RF);
- c-d) Private collection of
K. Smychkov (found in
Rivne and Lviv oblast');
- e) Private collection
of O. Alf'orov (found
in Rivne d., Rivne o.);
- f-h) Novgorod
Archaeological
Expedition (found in
Velikij Novgorod, RF).

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

+СФРА
ΓΙCMA
ΕΙΜΙ

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

ΚΥΡΙΑ
ΚΘΔΙCΥ
ΠΑΤΟΝ
— . —

+ ΣφράγιCμά είμι Κυριακοῦ
δισυπάτου.
+I am the seal of Kyriakos dishypatos.
Border of dots.

1. VP-457.



2. VP-459.



3. VP-1616.



Commentary:

The legend becomes a dodecasyllable (with caesura after the 5th syllable) by Krasis of ια in Κυριακοῦ.

V. Bulgakova read “Σφράγισμά εἰμι / Κυρίλλου δισυπάτου”, but W. Seibt considered possible the alternative reading of Συριάνου in his review.²⁰ Two of V. Bulgakova’s seals have some of their letters damaged.

The title of dishypatos, remerged as a title in the XI century after hypatos had become again a title (higher than protospatharios). This rank of dishypatos was probably of similar importance to that of patrikios.²¹ After the reforms of Alexios I Komnenos it was a relatively modest dignity. Regarding the different places where Kyriakos’ eleven (!) seals were found we believe that they probably reflect his active role in the territory of the Rus’.

Publ.:

- a) BULGAKOVA,
Osteuropa 1.4.3.a;
- b) BULGAKOVA,
Osteuropa 1.4.3.b;
- c-d) СМУЧКОВ, Несколько
моливдовулов;
- e) unpublished;
- f-h) ISAEV – GAIDUKOV –
OLEINIKOV, Великий
Новгород, group 5.

²⁰ *JÖB* 57 (2007) 402.

²¹ Cf. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Listes* 295; GUILLAND, *Recherches* II 79–81.

B. Hypatos.

1. Niketas, hypatos

VP-1552.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 9.5×8.8 mm.
H. 1.5 mm. W. 0.7 g.
Blank too small for die.
The channel of the seal runs from 10 to 4 h.

Find-spot:

near Chernihiv city,
Chernihiv oblast'.



Obv. Bust of young and beardless St. Georgios with a shield (l. hand) and a spear (r. hand). Inscription: ΠΓ; [Ὁ ἅγιος Γεώ]ργ(ιος): *Saint Georgios*.
No visible border.



Rev. Inscription of three lines:

KER .
ΝΙΚΗ . .
VΠΑ .

Date:

Xth c.,
ca. second
third.

Κ(ύρι)ε β[(οή)θ(ει)] Νική[τα]
ὑπά[τ(ω)].

Lord aid Niketas hypatos.

Border of dots.



Commentary:

Though much of the seal's field is lost, the reconstruction seems very plausible, but we do not know an exact parallel.

When the title of hypatos reappeared before the middle of the XI century, it was the next higher rank after the protospatharios. Many military officers like small strategoi or officers in the tagmata became protospatharioi hypatoi around the middle of the XIth century. We do not know wheter Niketas was an aristocrat from Rus' serving for some time in the Byzantine army.

C. Kouropalates.

1. Ioannes Komnenos, kouropalates

VP-749.

Publ.:

ALF'OROV, Родові імена 4.

Dimensions:

D. 27×29 mm.

H. 3.5 mm. W. 14.3 g.

Pressed on the sides.

Find-spot:

Brovary district, Kyiv oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) DO 47.2.1204;
- b) DO 58.106.803;
- c) Athens 386;
- d) Hermitage M-8037;
- e) Fogg 630;
- f) Fogg 958;
- g) Utpadel (Munich);
- h) seal in auctions;
- i) Coll. Tatiş.

Publ.:

- b) ZACOS – VEGLERY 2681a;
- c) KONSTANTOPOULOS 386; STAVRAKOS 129;
- d) ЛІКНАЧЕВ, Молитвотулы LXIII-6;
- f) ZACOS – VEGLERY 2681b;
- h) auction Hirsch 202, 25.-27.11.1998, 637 = Gorny & Mosch 160, 8.-9.10.2007, 2846 = Münz Zentrum 170, 17.-18.9.2014, 486;
- i) Cheynet, Tatiş, 5.33.



Page 51

Obv. Originally the seal preserved a very fine bust of St. Georgios. The right hand holds a spear (in an unusual way), transversally in front of the chest, the left hand holds a shield. The cuirass was artificially modelled(?). Vertical inscriptions (visible only on the left side): Θ|ΓΕ|Ω|Ρ: Ὁ ἄγιος Γεώργιος: *Saint Georgios*.

Not only Ioannes Komnenos, but also his father Manuel and his elder brother Isaakios had chosen St. George as patron on their seals.²²

Border of pellets between two circles of dots. This type of border was in fashion only for a short time.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

. ΚΕΡΟΗΘ
Τ . . . ΔΗΛ
ΙΩΑΝΝΗ . Ξ
ΡΟΠΑΛΑΤΙ
. ΩΚΟΜΝΗ
– ΝΩ –

[+] Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τ[ῷ] σ[υ]ν[ε] δούλ[ῳ]
Ἰωάννη [κ]ουροπαλάτ[ῃ] [τ]ῷ
Κομνηνῷ.

+ Lord aid your servant Ioannes Komnenos, kouropalates.

The border is the same on the obverse.

Date:

1057–1067.

Commentary:

General Manuel Komnenos died leaving behind his two young sons Isaakios and Ioannes. Emperor Basil II himself took care of their education. Isaakios had a brilliant military career (partially also documented by seals) before he became emperor in September 4, 1057.²³ Immediately afterwards, Isaakios elevated his brother Ioannes to the prestigious title of kouropalates and trusted him with the very important command of δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως. There are some seals which testify his assumption of this post.²⁴ Maybe, when Isaakios resigned in November 21–22, 1059, Ioannes had lost his command, but most probably, he continued to use his seal as kouropalates till his death in July 12, 1067. Ioannes Komnenos married Anna Dalassene (ca. 1044) and became the father of the future emperor Alexios I Komnenos (and of his brothers and sisters).²⁵

By chance we know of a man in Ioannes' personal retinue by seals found in Bulgaria. On one type he calls himself Ραξίμη[ρ(ος)] πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ κουροπαλάτου, on the other Δραξίμηρ(ος) πρωτοσπαθάριος ὑπατος καὶ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ κουροπαλάτου καὶ δομεστίκου τῆς Δύσεως. This person also chose St. George as patron of his seals.²⁶

²² Cf. CHEYNET, Comnènes 53–57.

²³ For the exact dates of Isaakios' reign cf. SCHREINER, *Kleinchroniken* II 150f.

²⁴ Cf. e.g. ZACOS – VEGLERY 2681 bis; *DOSeals* I 1.18.

²⁵ Cf. BARZOS I 49–57, no. 6.

²⁶ SEIBT, *Maximos-Raximir-Draximir* 247–250, pl. 25.

D. Magistros.

1. Demetrios Kazanes, magistros

1. VP-478.



Publ.:

ALF'OROV, Родові імена
1.1; SEIBT, Surnames
90, with fig. 6.1.

Dimensions:

D. 17×16 mm. D₂. 14 mm.
H. 2.5 mm. W. 4.6 g. Pressed
on the sides. The channel of
the seal runs from 9 to 3 h.

Find-spot:

Sedniv town, Chernihiv
district, Chernihiv oblast'.

2. VP-706.



Publ.:

ALF'OROV, Родові імена
1.2; SEIBT, Surnames
90, with fig. 6.2.

Dimensions:

D. 17×16 mm. D₂. 14 mm.
H. 3 mm. W. 4.3 g. Pressed
on the sides. The channel of
the seal runs from 8 to 2 h.

Find-spot:

Rivne city, Rivne oblast'.

Analogy:

Cherepovets Historical and
Regional Museum (RF).

Publ.:

BULGAKOVA, *Osteuropa*
1.2.1. (without reading
of the family name).

Obv. Bust of St. Theodoros with his
usual curled hair dress, and long beard,
holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield
(l. hand). Inscription on either side:
Θ|Θ|Ε-Ο|Δ|Ω|Ρ,; Ὁ ἅγιος)
Θεόδωρος): *Saint Theodore*.
In the second case the siglum for
Ὁ ἅγιος seems to be a minimal dot.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

KER .
ΔΙΜΙΤΡ,
ΜΑΓΙΣΤΡ,
ΤΩΚΑΖΑ
ΝΥ

Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)[θ(ε)] Δ(η)μ(η)τρ(ίω)
μαγίστρ(ω) τῷ Καζάν(η).
*Lord, help Demetrios Kazanes, the mag-
istros.*

Border of dots.

Date:

last third of
the XIth c.

Commentary:

Above the legend there was probably a dot between horizontal bars, but
no cross. The channel of these seals runs in a horizontal way.

In Dumbarton Oaks there is a seal that could belong to the same per-
son. On the obverse, it also has a bust of St. Theodore, and the reverse
legend reads: +ΚΕΡ,Θ,|Δ[ΗΜΗ]ΤΡ|ΑΚ[ΥΡ]ΟΠΑ|ΛΑΤΗΤΩ|ΚΑΖΑΝ,,
As protokouropalates, Demetrios served under Alexios Komnenos I.²⁷

For the family name Kazanes cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 2343,
2540, 2821; Jordanov, *Corpus* II 245-249 (244 reads ΚΑΖΑΚΗC, not
ΚΑΖΑΝΗC). We already know of a Kazanios serving as stratelates in the
first half of the VIIth century.²⁸ Magistros was no longer a high title when
the seal was produced.

²⁷ SEIBT, Surnames 90; JORDANOV, *Corpus* II, p. 166.

²⁸ Auction Gorny & Mosch 160, 8.-9.10.2007, 2832.

1. VP-478.



2. VP-706.



2. Konstantinos Korones, magistros

1. VP-1625.



Publ.:
Wassiliou-Seibt, *Metr.*
Corpus II 2565.

Dimensions:
D. 16×15.5 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 4.1 g. Hit. The canal
runs from 1 to 6 h.

Find-spot:
"Zoloty Tok", Krylos vil-
lage (old Rus' Halych – add
variant Galic ODB; in fact
this was only the kremlin of
old Galic), Halych district,
Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast'.

2. VP-1626.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:
D. 16×15 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 4.8 g. Hit. The canal
runs from 12 to 6 h.

Find-spot:
Derkachivka village,
Nedryhailiv district,
Sumy oblast'.

Analogy:
Private collection of
V.V. Romankov (Smolensk,
RF; found in Smolensk).

Publ.:
Bulgakova, *Osteuropa*
1.4.2; Wassiliou-Seibt,
Metr. Corpus II 2565.

Obv. Bust of St. Nikolaos blessing (r.
hand) and holding a codex (l. hand).
Inscription on either side: Θ|N|I –
K|O|Λ|A,; Ὁ ἅγιος Νικόλα(ος):
Saint Nikolaos.
Border of dots.

Rev. Metrical inscription of four lines:

Date:
last quarter
of the XIth c.

+
CΦΡΑΓ,
ΜΑΓΙΣΤΡ
ΚΩΝΚΟ
.ΩΝΗ

+Σφραγ(ις) μαγίστρ(ου)
Κων(σταντίνου) Κο[ρ]ώνη.
+Seal of magistros Konstantinos Korones.
Border of dots.

Commentary

A dodecasyllabic verse (B 5). The family name Κορώνης²⁹ is damaged (as in the parallel piece, from which Bulgakova could not discern the name), but considering the parallel piece as well, we prefer to read a Rho at the beginning of the last line. Another seal, now at the Hermitage Museum (M-9577), probably belongs to the same person. On the obverse, it features a similar bust of St. Nikolaos, and the reverse reads: +CΦΡΑ-ΓΙCΠΡΟΕ-ΔΡΗΚΩΝ-ΚΟΡΩΝΗ.³⁰ In both cases Korones is surely a family name, though we also know of cases from the same period where Korone is a nameplace, like the seals of a Konstantinos, bishop of Korone (in Messenia).³¹ A praktikon dating to 1152 records a certain Konstantinos Korones in possession of the χωρίον Κονταράτου.³² Finally, the family Korones is well attested in Palaiologan era too.³³

²⁹ From Greek κορώνη, „crow“; cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 2565.

³⁰ WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 2761.

³¹ LAURENT, *Corpus* VI/1, 653f.; *DOSeals* II 28.1-2).

³² *Actes Iviron* III 56, 147 and 235; surely a younger homonymous.

³³ *PLP* VI 13229 and 13238 – 13243.

1. VP-1625.



2. VP-1626.



E. Ostiarios

1. Leon, ostiarios

1. VP-302.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:

Novhorod-Sivers'kyi,
Novhorod-Sivers'kyi
district, Chernihiv oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 25 mm. D₂. 22.5 mm.
H. 4 mm. W. 11.9 g.
Corroded. The channel of
the seal runs from 1 to 5 h.

2. VP-1388.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

Dimensions:

D. 24×25 mm. D₂. 22.5 mm.
H. 5 mm. W. 18.6 g. Hit.
The channel of the seal
runs from 11 to 19 h.

Analogies:

Private collection, Ukraine
(found in Kyiv oblast').

Unpublished.

Obv. Full-length standing figure of the
Mother of God (Hodegetria Dexiokra-
tousa), holding Jesus Christ (r. hand).
Border of dots.

Rev. Metrical Inscription of five lines:

+ΑΓΝΗ
CΦΡΑΓΙC
ΛΕΟΝΤΟC
ΟCΤΙΑΡΙ
ΟV—

Date:

Last quarter
of the XIth –
early XIIth c.

+ Ἀγνή σφραγίς Λέοντος ὀστιάριου.
+ *The chaste (Virgin) is the seal of Leon
ostiarios.*
Border of dots.

Commentary:

In both cases, the Rho on the reverse legend is so much reduced that resembles a lota. The legend is a regular dodecasyllable (B7).³⁴

Ostiarios was a Byzantine dignity (and title) reserved for eunuchs. The latter served in the imperial household, others in the Byzantine administration or held even commands in the army. As regards the title, it was lower than that of protospatharios, ranking between the primikerios and the spatharokoubikouarios.³⁵

It is possible that this seal is somehow connected with the activities of Nikolaos Zounaras in the region of Chernihiv after 1097.³⁶

³⁴ For another verse beginning with Ἀγνή, σφραγίς cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* I 39.

³⁵ Cf. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, *Listes* 300.

³⁶ Cf. SEIBT – HULECKI – TIGUNTSEV.

1. VP-302.



2. VP-1388.



F. Patrikios Bestes

1. *Ioannes, patrikios bestes*

VP-580.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 22×24 mm. D₂. 15 mm.

H. 4 mm. W. 15.3 g. Hit.

The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 7 h.



Find-spot:

Ovruch district, Kyiv oblast'.

Analogies:

Private collection (found in the Ukraine).

Unpublished.

Obv. Bust of St. Ioannes Prodromos, with a long beard, holding (r. hand) a long cross. In his left hand he probably bears a roll. Traces of the vertical inscription: 'Ο ἄγιος Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Πρ(ό)δρομ(ος): St. John Prodromos. **Border of dots.**

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+KER,Θ,
ΙΩΑΝΝΗ
ΠΡΙΚΙΩ
SRECTH

Date:

Last third of XIth c.

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Ἰωάννη π(ατ)ρικίω (καὶ) βέστη.
+Lord, help Ioannes patrikios and bestes. **Border of dots.**

Commentary:

There are vestiges of a former imprint, esp. on the left side of the obverse.

This Ioannes was probably a Byzantine who had acquired these medium-ranking titles in the third quarter of the XIth century, but lost much of his former prestige in the last quarter of the century. Alternatively, Ioannes could well have been a Rus' aristocrat who had served for some time in the Byzantine Empire, probably as an officer in the army. Sometimes foreign ambassadors were honoured in Byzantium with honorary titles.

C. Kouropalates.

Ioannes Komnenos, kouropalates

VP-749.



F. Patrikios Bestes

Ioannes, patrikios bestes

VP-580.



G. Primikerios

1. Leon Petzementes, *primikerios*

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-1560.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 20.5×23.5 mm.
D₂. 20 mm. H. 4 mm.
W. 12.7 g. Blank too small for the die. The channel of the seal runs from 12 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

2. VP-793.



Publ.:

ALFOROV, РОДОВІ ІМЕНА 2.1; SEIBT, Surnames 90–91, fig. 7.1.

Dimensions:

D. 21×22.5 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 7.5 g. Blank too small for the die; corroded. The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

Kostovtsi village, Brusyliv district, Zhytomyr oblast'.

3. VP-863.



Publ.:

ALFOROV, РОДОВІ ІМЕНА 2.1; SEIBT, Surnames 91, fig. 7.2.

Dimensions:

D. 21×23 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 9.5 g. Blank too small for die; the channel of the seal runs from 12 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Between Katuzhanka village and Dymer town on dried up river, Vyshhorod district, Kyiv oblast'.

Analogy:

Private collection of K. Smychkov (found in Andrushiv district, Zhytomyr oblast').

Unpublished.

b) second boulloterion

4. VP-1094.



Publ.:

ALFOROV, РОДОВІ ІМЕНА 2.1; SEIBT, Surnames 91, fig. 7.3.

Dimensions:

D. 25×26 mm. D₂. 20.5 mm.
H. 2.5 mm. W. 7.7 g. Bent and hit. The channel of the seal runs from 12 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Yaropovychi village (near old Rus' Yaropolch), Andrushivka district, Zhytomyr oblast'.

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios, beardless. His hairstyle leaves the ears visible as is customary: He is dressed in the chlamys, holds a lance in his right hand and a round shield in his left. Traces of the inscription are only preserved on the left side: Θ|ΔΙ|Μ-Τ|ΡΙ|Ο,,: Ὁ (ἅγιος) Δ(η)μ[ή]τριος(ς): *Saint Demetrios*.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

—+—
ΛΕΩΝΤ,
ΠΡΙΜΙΚΗ
ΡΙΩΤΩΠ,
ΤΣΗΜΕΝ
Τ,

+ Λέ(ο)ντ(ι) πριμικηρίω τῷ
Π(ε)τζημέντ(η).

+ *Leon Petzementes, primikerios*.

Border of dots.

Date:

last third of
the XIth c.

Commentary:

Horizontal bars on either side of the single letter in the last line.

The family name Petzementes / Petzimentis probably has a late Latin origin. In Italy one finds names like Petzes which derived from the word τὸ πετζιον.³⁷ The cadaster of Thebes mentions a Nikolaos Πετζημέντ(ης) ca. 1082, and a certain Πετζιμέντ(ης) was the chartophylax of Chios ca. 1315.³⁸

The primikerios could denote a title for eunuchs, an office or a command or even an ecclesiastical function.³⁹ Perhaps the choice of St. Demetrios as patron hints to a military office.



³⁷ *Appartamento di terreno* according to CARACAUSSI 453-454; cf. LbG 1294 ("Stück Land, Parzelle").

³⁸ Cf. SEIBT, Surnames 91.

³⁹ Cf. ODB III 1719–1720.

Primikerios

Leon Petzementes, primikerios

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-1560.



2. VP-793.



3. VP-863.



b) second boulloterion

4. VP-1094.



H. Proedros

1. Michael Kotertzes, *proedros*

1. VP-383.



Publ.:

ALF'OROV, ΡΟΔΟΒΙ ΙΜΕΝΑ
3.1; SEIBT, Surnames
91–93:2; WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2240.

Dimensions:

D. 15×16.5 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 4.4 g. Blank too small
for the die. The canal
runs from 12 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

2. VP-708.



Publ.:

ALF'OROV, ΡΟΔΟΒΙ ΙΜΕΝΑ
3.2; SEIBT, Surnames
91–93:1; WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2240.

Dimensions:

D. 18 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 4.2 g. The canal
runs from 2 to 8 h.

Find-spot:

Pidhirtsi village
(old Rus' Plisnens'k), Brody
district, Lviv oblast'.

3. VP-253.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 8×13 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 1.5 g. Blank too small
for the die. Half of seal.
The canal runs from 2 to 8 h.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

Obv. Bust of St. Michael vested in the imperial loros, holding a long scepter (r. hand) and a globus (without a cross) (l. hand). Inscription: **A^xP – M^xI**: Ἀρχ(άγγελος) Μιχ(αήλ): Archangel Michael.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of free lines:

. ΟΝΟΜΟ
ΝΥΜΣΚΕΠ
ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΝ
ΤΟΝΚΟΤΕΡ
ΤΖΗΝ

Date:

last third of
the XIth c.

+ [Σ]ὸν ὀμ(ώ)νυμ(ον) σκέπ(οις)
πρόεδρον τὸν Κοτέρτζην.
+ You (scil. the archangel Michael) should
protect your homonymous Kotertzes, the
proedros.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

On no. 2 and 3 there are traces of an earlier print. We begun the transcription with Σόν, not with Τόν. 14 syllables, probably two heptasyllables. This Kotertzes is not attested in other sources, though the family is well-known (perhaps of Georgian origin).⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 2240.

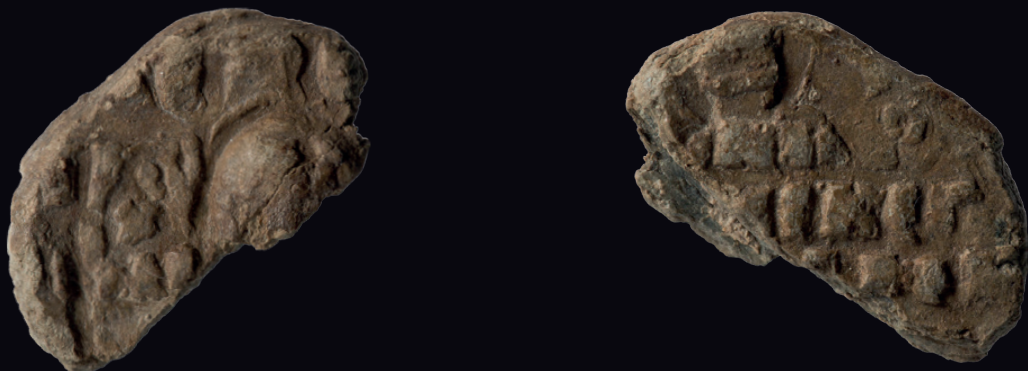
1. VP-383.



2. VP-708.



3. VP-253.



2. Ioannes(?) Spanopoulos, proedros

VP-458.

Publ.:

ALF'OROV, Стосунки 1.

Dimensions:

D. 16×15 mm.

H. 3.5 mm. W. 4.6 g.

Blank too small for the die.



Find-spot:

Makariv district, Kyiv oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) Likhachev collection (found in Kyiv);
- b) Novgorod Historical and Architectural Museum, no. KP 4102 (before the Second World War no. 3562);
- c) former coll. Zacos;
- d) Novgorod Archaeological Expedition (found in Velikij Novgorod, RF).

Publ.:

- a) LIKHACHEV, Материалы I, p. 12; YANIN, Актовые печати I, p. 52; BULGAKOVA, Osteuropa 1.4.1a;
- b) YANIN, Актовые печати I, p. 52; Bulgakova, Osteuropa 1.4.1a;
- d) ISAEV – GAIDUKOV – OLEINIKOV, Великий Новгород, 14.3.

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God *orans*, holding Christ Emmanuel within a circular medallion (Episkepsis-type). Inscription above her hands: . P – Θ .: [M(ήτηρ)]ρ Θ[(εο)υ]: *Mother of God*.
No visible border.

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

. ΚΕΡ,Θ,
.. ἈΕΔΡΟ
. Ο . ΠΑΝ .
.....

Date:

last quarter of the XIth – early XIIth c.

+ [Θ](εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) [Ιω[άννη]?]
(προ)έδρ(ω) [τ](ῶ) [Σ]παν[οπούλ(ω)].
+ *Theotokos, aid Ioannes(?) Spanopoulos, the proedros*.
No visible border.

Commentary:

The first name of this Spanopoulos is a problem – on most seals it is more or less lost. On one exemplar we can read ΙΩ, on two specimens I seems to be the second letter, interpreted by V. L. Janin and others as part of ΩΙ (as mistake for ΙΩ), what looks strange but is not impossible, esp. in this case. Normally we would prefer the reconstruction M^{XI}, but in this case all these seals stem probably from one and the same person, Ioannes.⁴¹

The last two lines read: ΤΟ ΣΠΑΝΟ–ΠΥΛΟ. The first letter in the third line of our seal should be interpreted as partly damaged thin Omikron, whereas the Sigma, which once was quite near to the Omikron, is now smashed, as the parallels show.

⁴¹ YANIN, Актовые печати I, p. 50–52.



A similar seal type of seals (four are preserved), mentioning a John Spanopoulos proedros and also featuring a bust of the Theotokos Episkepsis on the obverse,⁴² is discussed in Österreich I.⁴³

There are seals from around this period, which mention a Michael Spanopoulos. A metrical seal in the Hermitage Museum with a bust of the Episkepsis reads: Σπανόπουλον πρόεδρον Μιχαὴλ σκέποις.⁴⁴ A specimen in the die Fogg collection features a bust of St. Michael on the obverse but does not mention a title or office.⁴⁵ Another one in Dumbarton Oaks collection with a bust of Theotokos Episkepsis on the obverse and a bust of St. Michael on the reverse record Michael as bestes and judge of Aigaion Pelagos for ca. 1060/1080.⁴⁶ It is not impossible that all these types belonged to the same person. Another seal of a Michael Spanopoulos (without title or office), again from the second half of the XIth or early XIIth century, with a bust of St. Nikolaos,⁴⁷ stems from a different individual.

⁴² Hermitage, M-10527; Fogg 1474; Vienna, Münzkabinett 483, ed. SEIBT, Österreich I 150; coll. Bulgakova, ed. BULGAKOVA, *Osteuropa* 1.4.1.b. At least the last one was found in Novgorod.

⁴³ SEIBT, Österreich I 150.

⁴⁴ M-10524; cf. SEIBT, Österreich I, p. 285, with n. 10.

⁴⁵ Fogg 1305.

⁴⁶ DO 58.106.3299; ed. *DOSeals* II 40.16; SEIBT, Österreich I, p. 285.

⁴⁷ DO, Neg.no. 55.65.16-2706.

3. *Ioannes, proedros*

VP-393.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 16.5×12.5 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 3.6 g. Half of seal, corroded. The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

Sokil village, Kam'ianets'-
Podil's'k district,
Khmel'nyts'k.



Obv. Full-length standing figure of a bearded warrior saint, probably St. Theodore, with a lance (r. hand). Inscription only at left: Θ|Α|..|Ω|:

Θ ἄ[γι]ο(ς): Saint...

Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+
.. ΚΕΠΗΣ
.. ΛΗΤΑ
.... ΔΡΩ
.. Ω

Date:

Last third
XIth – first
third XIIth c.

+ [Σ]κέπ(οι)ς, [ἀθ]λητά, [προέ]δρω
[Ἰ]ω(άννη).
+ *Martyr, may you protect Ioannes proedros.*

Border of dots.



Commentary:

Although only some of this fragment's letters are easily discernible, the legend, a dodecasyllable, is clear. Above the last line one finds a massive stroke of abbreviation. In this case the proedros either denoted a Byzantine title (which lost much of its former prestige under Alexios I Komnenos), or a paraphrase of an ecclesiastical office, esp. of a bishop. Σκέποις takes an object in the dative instead of the accusative, a phenomenon which is not without parallels. For instance, from the many metrical seal legends starting with Σκέποις, ἀθλητά,⁴⁸ three take an objective in the dative.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 1964–1981.

⁴⁹ L.c. 1971, 1978, and 1979.

I. Protospatharios

1. Loukas, protospatharios

VP-427.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 20 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 9.2 g. Two holes.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.



Obv. The obverse is badly damaged by the deep engraving of a swastika. Perhaps there are minimal traces of an invocation.

No visible border.



Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΛΘΚΑ
ΑCΠΑ
ΘΑΡ.
Ω

Date:

c. second
half of the
Xth c.

Λουκᾶ (πρωτο)σπαθαρχ[ί]φ.
(+ Lord aid your servant) Loukas proto-
spatharios.

Border of dots.



Commentary:

There is a similar, or even parallel, seal in Kyiv.⁵⁰ The obverse of this seal features an invocative cruciform monogram with the tetragram, probably reading Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ. The reverse legend reads: [Λ]ΘΚΑ|ΑCΠΑ|ΘΑΡΗ|[Ω]. Perhaps there was a cross on either side of the Omega, the non extant last letter.

⁵⁰ National Museum of Ukrainian History, Kyiv, V 4624/1111.

J. Sebaste

1. Helene, sebaste

VP-1583.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 33×35 mm.

D₂. 25 mm. H. 4 mm.

W. 22.5 g. Bent, restored.

Find-spot:

Kyiv oblast'.



Page 65

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God, holding a medallion with a bust of Christ Emmanuel in front of her (Nikopoios-type). Sigla: $\overline{MP}$ - $\overline{\Theta V}$: $M(\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho\ \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\tilde{\upsilon})$: *Mother of God*.
Border of dots

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

. . KE
R . . ΘΕΙ
ΤΗ . ΗΔΥΛ,
ΕΛ . ΝΗCE
RACTH
- . -

Date:

XIth c.,

perhaps

1075 – 1078.

[+ $\Theta(\epsilon\omicron\tau\acute{o})$]κε β[οή]θει τῇ [σ]ῇ
δούλ(η) Ἑλ[έ]νῃ σεβαστῇ.
+ *Theotokos, aid your servant Helene*
sebaste.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

The bust of the Theotokos Nikopoios was (for the last time) very common on seals of the 70s of the XIth century. Helene was the wife (or widow) of a sebastos. It is well-known that Konstantinos, the elder nephew of the patriarch Michael Kerullarios, was the first Byzantine dignitary to be honoured with this high title, ca. 1075; he died in 1078. Ca. 1074 he married (still as protoproedros) a certain lady (her name escapes us), who became the great-grandmother of Ioannes Tzetzes.⁵¹ It could well be that Helene was Konstantinos' second wife. In this case, the seal dates from 1075 at the earliest, and she could have used it after her husband's death. We should bear in mind, however, that even before the accession of Alexios I Komnenos other dignitaries became Sebastoi too.⁵²

⁵¹ Cf. VASSILIOU-SEIBT, Neffen des Patriarchen Michael I. 112.

⁵² Cf. SEIBT, Sebastos 759–764.

K. Spatharokandidatos

1. Anastasios, *spatharokandidatos*

VP-284.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 23×26 mm. D₂. 19 mm.

H. 4 mm. W. 21.7 g.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.



Page 65

Obv. Probably a bust of St. Theodoros.
Traces of the inscription on either side.

**Border of dots. Rests of a former
imprint, esp. on the obverse left top.**

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

— . —
+ ΑΝΑ
ΣΤΑΙΟ
ΣΠΑΘΑΡ
ΚΑΝΔΛ'
— . —

Date:

XIth c., ca.
second third.

+ Ἀναστασί(ω) σπαθαρο(ο)κανδ(ι)-
δ(άτω).

+ *Anastasios spatharokandidatos.*

Commentary:

Spatharokandidatos was a title lower than protospatharios. In this period, many tourmarchai and equivalent army officers were honoured with it. The seal does not have a channel.

2. Nikolaos Pios(?), spatharokandidatos

VP-147.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 36×37 mm. D2. 28 mm.

H. 4 mm. W. 37.3 g. Hole.

The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Zhytomyr oblast'.



Obv. A relatively primitive (and damaged) bust of St. Nikolaos, blessing (r. hand) and holding a codex. Traces of the inscription on the left side: Θ|N: 'Ο ἄγιος Ν[ικόλαος]: *Saint Nikolaos*.
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

Date:

XIth c.

—+—
+ΚΕΡ,Θ,
ΨΩΔ,
.. ΚΟΛΑΩ
CΠΑΘ,Κ,ΔΔ,
ΤΩΠΙΩ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [τ]ῷ σῷ δ(ούλῳ)
[Νι]κολάῳ σπαθ(αρο)κ(αν)δ(ι)δ(άτῳ)
τῷ Πίῳ.

+ Lord, aid your servant Nikolaos Pios(?),
spatharokandidatos.

Border of dots

Commentary:

The seal conveys a provincial origin. The reading of the family name is not certain, as the first letter is damaged, resembling a Beta. If Nikolaos was really called Pios (according Latin *pius*),⁵³ he probably came from the Latin West and served as a foreign soldier for some time in the Byzantine army, where he came into contact with comrades from the Rus', and continued to communicate with them after their return home.

⁵³ Pope Pius II is called Πῖο or Πῖος in Greek documents; cf. PLP 23220.

J. Sebaste. Helene, sebaste

VP-1583.



K. Spatharokandidatos.

1. Anastasios, spatharokandidatos

VP-284.



2. Nikolaos Pios(?), spatharokandidatos

VP-147.



II.

**OFFICES AT THE CENTRAL
DEPARTMENTS OF THE EMPIRE**

1. The Imperial Chancery

A. Asekretis

1. *Ioannes, spatharokandidatos and asekreteis*

VP-656.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 24 mm. D₂. 22.5 mm.
H. 2 mm. W. 8.3 g.
One hole under the top.
The channel of the seal
runs from 2 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

Fastiv district, Kyiv oblast'.



Page 77

Obv. Bust of a holy bishop holding the Gospels in his left hand; it is not clear if the right hand is blessing. Only hazy vestiges of the figure and some letters are visible. In this time St. Nikolaos was very popular, esp. on seals of civil officers, but in our case it would be preferable to identify the figure with a St. Ioannes, e. g. Chrysostomos.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+KĒR,Θ,
ΤΩCΠΑΘ,
Ρ,Κ,Δ,ΣΑ
C,ΚΡΙΤ

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Ἰω(άννη)
σπαθ(α)ρ(ο)κ(αν)δ(ι)δ(ά)τ(ω) (καὶ)
ἀσ(η)κρ(ῆ)τ(ις).
+Lord aid Ioannes spatharokandida-
tos and asekreteis.

Border of dots.

Date:

XIth c., ca.
second
quarter.

Commentary:

We know of similar seals belonging to a certain Ioannes imperial spatharokandidatos and asekreteis, with the bust of a bishop, probably St. Nikolaos, on the obverse,⁵⁴ but they date from a slightly earlier period. The asekreteis served in the imperial chancery, but some of them were temporarily sent into provinces to serve as thematic judges. For instance, there is a seal type of an Ioannes spatharokandidatos, asekreteis and judge of Boleron, Strymon and Thessaloniki from the same time as our seal.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ The seal in Istanbul was at last edited in CHEYNET et al., *Istanbul* 2.7, and a little bit different type is in the coll. Thierry.

⁵⁵ Cf. WASSILIOU – SEIBT, *Österreich* II 182 (with a legend on both sides of the seal).

B. Protonotarios

1. Leon, imperial protospatharios and protonotarios(?)

VP-401.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 25×15 mm. D₂. 20 mm.

H. 3 mm. W. 7.1 g.

Half of seal.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.



Page 77

Obv. Originally there were two half-length standing figures on the field, but only the right one is preserved. It resembles a bishop, blessing with his right hand and holding a scroll with his left. Since only the first letter at the right is readable, probably a damaged M, we have chosen to identify the figure with St. Damianos. Probably there are traces of Θ at the top of the field. If the right figure is indeed St. Damianos, then St. Kosmas should have been the left one.⁵⁶ Alternatively, the right figure could have also been St. Menas (from Egypt). In the center of the seal one can probably discern a damaged Omega.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+KE...
ΤΩ...
ΛΕΟ...
ΑCΠ...
.ΕΑ...
ΤΡ...

+ Κ(ύρι)ε [β(οή)θ(ει)]
τῷ σ[ῷ δ(ούλῳ)] Λέο[ντι]
(πρωτο) σπ[αθ(α)ρ(ίῳ) κ]ἔ
(πρωτο)[ν(ο)τ(α)ρ[ίῳ]]?
+ Lord aid your servant Leon imperial
protospatharios and protonotarios(?).

Border of dots.

Date:

ca. 1030/1080.

Commentary:

As more than half of the field is lost or damaged, the proposed transcription is only a hypothesis. For the last two lines we supply the text: ΚΕ ἌΝΩ-Τ,ΠΙΩ. There were many protonotarioi in the offices of the capital and in the themata.

⁵⁶ For a similar image cf. SEIBT – ZARNITZ 5.3.7.

2. Fiscal Departments

A. Genikos Logothetes

1. *Basileios, patrikios, imperial protospatharios and genikos logothetes*

VP-63.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 22 mm. H. 3 mm.

W. 6.3 g. Poorly printed and pressed on the sides, blank too small for the die.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'(?).



Obv. Greek cross as *crux gemmata* with pearls at the end of the arms, above three steps, with fleurons. Traces of the invocation: . . . ΟΗΘ . . . Ω

.....

No visible border.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

. A .
. ΛΙΩΠΑ
. ΡΙΚ,Ρ, .
. ΠΑΘΣΓΕ
. . . ΛΟΓ .
ΘΕ . .

Date:

Xth c.,

second half.

[B]α[σι]λ(εῖ)φ πα[τ]ρικ(ί)ω
β(ασιλικῶ) [(πρωτο)σ]παθ(αρί)ω
(καὶ) γε[νικ(ῶ)] λογ[ο]θ[ε]τ[η].
*Basileios, patrikios, imperial proto-
spatharios and genikos logothetes.*

Border of dots.



Commentary:

A seal with a similar (relatively rare) obverse decoration in the former Zacos collection records this Basileios with the higher title of *magistros* and the same office as *genikos logothetes*.⁵⁷ More problematic is the half of a seal published in the same collection, without a photo.⁵⁸ The latter probably had a different, yet somehow similar obverse, attesting a Basileios as [*magistros*], *anthypatos patrikios*, *rektor* and *genikos logothetes* from a similar period.⁵⁹

Two acts in the Laura Monastery on Mount Athos mention a *Βασίλειος ραίκτηρ καὶ γενικὸς λογοθέτης* for the year 972/973.⁶⁰ Probably the seal of the *rektor* belonged to the latter. Although less probable, it is not impossible that our seal and the one of the *magistros* belong to the same individual. If this is the case, then our seal should be dated to the 60s of the X century,⁶¹ but it could well date from some years later, from a namesake in the last third of the Xth century.⁶²

⁵⁷ ZACOS II 98.

⁵⁸ ZACOS II 912 (the photo in the plates depicts a totally different seal).

⁵⁹ *Magistros rektor* vel *rektor* alone [still ranked a bit higher] is still a little bit higher than *magistros*.

⁶⁰ *Actes Lavra* I, no. 10, 29; no. 11, 4-5 and 15; cf. p. 123f., 127, 129.

⁶¹ We know of a *Sisinnios patrikios* and *genikos logothetes*, previously an *eparchos*, who was active during the reign of Romanos II (959–963). Cf. GUILLAND, *Logothètes* 22f., no. 20.

⁶² For the problems of identification cf. also PmbZ II 20963 (Basil as *protospatharios* and *genikos logothetes*, but this seals type is quite earlier, with a simple patriarchal cross on the obverse) and 20984. We know of a seal of a Basil as *rektor* and *sakellarios*, again for the second half of the Xth century, with an obverse decoration similar to the seal of the *rektor* and *genikos logothetes* (LAURENT, *Corpus* II 772), and in 971 a Basil *rektor* was in charge of securing the imperial palace in Constantinople (during the imperial absence). Another Basil *rektor* was *oikonomos* of the Megale Ekklesia in the second half of the Xth century (LAURENT, *Corpus* V/1 52; PmbZ II 20948).

B. Sakellarios

1. Theodoros Stypeiotes, *protonobellisimos* and *megas sakellarios*

VP-1636.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 33 mm. D₂. 29.5 mm.

H. 3.5 mm.

W. 25.5 g. Corroded.

Find-spot:

Velyki Derevychi vil-
lage, Lubar district,
Zhytomyr oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) Brussels, NB, Kimps 82;
- b) Private collection
of Wassiliou-Seibt
478 (from Auction
Gorny & Mosch 233,
6.-7.10.2015, no. 2916).

Publ.:

- a) LAURENT, *Corpus* II
783 (insufficient);
- b) LEONTIADES, Theodoros
Stypeiotes.



Obv. Hand of God (central), legend
above: ΧΕΡ ΚΥ: Χε(ι)ρ Κ(υρί)ο. Cir-
cular inscription between two borders
of dots: +ΘΕΟΔΩΡ . . ΜΕ ΤΟΝ
Τ . ΠΕΙΩ ΝΕΙ : Θεόδωρ[όν]
με τὸν Στ[υ]πειώ[την γέ]νει.

Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of six lines:

ΠΡΩΤΟΝΩ
ΡΕΛΛΙΣΙΜΟΝ Ε .
ΤΗΣ ΑΖΙΑΣ ΜΕ
ΓΑΝ ΣΑΚΕΛΛΑ
ΡΙΟΝ ΎΨΟΘΕΝ
ΣΚΕΠΟΙΣ

Date:

ca. 1150/1155.

πρωτονωβελλίσμιον ἐκ] τῆς ἀξίας
μέγαν σακελλάριον ὕψοθε[ν] σκέποις.
+ Hand of God, protect from above (scil.
from heaven) me, Theodoros of the family
Stypeiotes, with the title protonobellisi-
mos, the megas sakellarios.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

The legend consists of three dodecasyllables. Laurent could not decipher the obverse legend on the seal in Brussels and for the reverse he proposed the following reading: πρωτονωβελλίσμιον [ἐκ] τῆς ἀξίας, μέγαν σακελλάριον, ἔφορον σκέποις. The auction catalogue totally misunderstood the obverse figure, proposing “Zentral thronende Konstantinopolis (?) mit Zepter und erhobener Linken”. In addition, it did not decipher the legend, yet noted that the office of megas sakellarios dated ca. XIII century.

There can be no doubt, that this Theodoros Styp(p)eiotes is the well-known favorite of Manuel I, to whom O. Kresten dedicated an impor-



tant study.⁶³ Theodoros begun his career around 1143 as γραμματικός and ὑπογραφεύς and was later invested with many high ranking offices (only these seals mention him as megas sakellarios!). The greatest offices assigned to him were ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου (probably already in 1155) and soon afterwards a kind of prime minister (μεσάζων), after Ioannes Hagiotheodorites had been sent to Hellas and Peloponnesos.⁶⁴ His career ended abruptly, however, early in 1159 when he was blinded after a conspiracy had taken place (during Manuel's Cilician campaign).⁶⁵ For some time he survived this harsh treatment.

A poem in the Marc. gr. 524 attributed to Stypeiotes⁶⁶ mentions him as Θεόδωρος γένος μὲν ὦν Στυπειώτης τὴν ἀξίαν δὲ νῦν κανικλείου φέρων.⁶⁷ There are some similarities with the legend of the seal. Perhaps Stypeiotes was megas sakellarios in the early 50s of the XIIth century. From a poem of Theodoros Prodromos we learn that Stypeiotes had married a certain Eudokia Komnene.⁶⁸

⁶³ KRESTEN, Stypeiotes 49–103.

⁶⁴ Cf. KRESTEN, Stypeiotes 88–90.

⁶⁵ Cf. also CHEYNET, *Pouvoir* 108, no. 145.

⁶⁶ It was probably composed by a „professional poet“, but perhaps Stypeiotes contributed at least a little bit.

⁶⁷ NE 8 (1911) 32, v. 24f.

⁶⁸ HÖRANDNER, *Theodoros Prodromos*, p. 525, Poem LXXIII 10–12. Cf. KRESTEN, Stypeiotes 52, n. 13.

2. Michael, *protospatharios* and *sakellarios*

VP-1588.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 25×29 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 13.5 g. The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h. Cut with a sharp object, pressed, bent, hit.

Find-spot:

Kyiv oblast'.



Obv. Full-length standing figure of St. Michael, probably wearing a cuirass, a short chiton and a military chlamys, holding a globus with a cross (l. hand), a long scepter or labarum (r. hand). The sigla are pressed, perhaps traces of **A|PX** on the left side: Ἀρχ[άγγελος Μιχαήλ]: Archangel Michael.

No visible border.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

.....
ΜΙΧΑΗ .
ΑΣΠΑΘΑΡΙ
ΩΣΚΑΚΕ .
ΛΑΡΙΩ
✠

Date:

ca. first third of the XIth c.

[+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει)]
Μιχαή[λ] (πρωτο)σπαθαρίω (καὶ)
σακε[λ]λαρίω.
+ Lord protect Michael, *protospatharios*
and *sakellarios*.

Border of dots.



Commentary:

There is an ornament under the legend. In the period the seal dates from, the title of protospatharios is relatively low for a high dignitary such as the sakellarios. Therefore, we prefer to date the seal to the later part of the reign of Basil II who was more parsimonious than his predecessors and successors concerning the distribution of high (and expensive) titles to the majority of the bureaucrats.

In the Dumbarton Oaks collection there is a seal of Michael, protospatharios ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος and imperial sakellarios, with a very similar paleography, though without a figure on the obverse.⁶⁹ It could well be that it belonged to the same Michael. If this is the case, then our Michael was also an eunuch. Laurent proposed an identification with Michael, ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος and megas papias on a damaged seal of the Orghidan's collection,⁷⁰ but this hypothesis is quite uncertain. Another Michael, antihypatos patrikios imperial protospatharios and sakellarios with a bust of St. Nikolaos on the obverse⁷¹ was surely a predecessor of our Michael.

⁶⁹ DO 58.106.5534, ed. LAURENT, *Corpus* II 777.

⁷⁰ LAURENT, *Orghidan* 39.

⁷¹ Cf. LAURENT, *Corpus* II 776 and JORDANOV, *Corpus* III 880.

3. Indeterminate Departments

A. Chartoularios

1. Gregorios Chalkites, chartoularios

VP-1751.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 21×22 mm. D₂. 17.5 mm.
H. 3 mm. W. 9.5 g. Hit.
The channel of the seal
runs from 9 to 3 h.



Find-spot:

Ukraine.

Analogies:

- a) DO 55.1.3986;
former Zacos coll.;
- b) Private collection
(found in Ukraine).

Publ.:

- a) ŠANDROVSKAJA – SEIBT
58 (only mention of
this seal type);
- b) unpublished.

Obv. Cross with top and arms decorated with pellets, standing on a step with fleurons reaching above the longer horizontal arm. Inscriptions: $\overline{\text{IC}} - \overline{\text{XC}}$: $\overline{\text{I}}(\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon)\varsigma \text{X}(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o})\varsigma$: *Jesus Christ*.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+
CΦΡΑΓΙC
ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΩ
ΧΑΡΤ . ΛΑΡΙ^υ
ΤΥΧΑΛΚΗ^τ

+Σφραγίς Γρηγορίου χαρτ[ου]λαρίου
τοῦ Χαλκ(ι)τ(η).

+Seal of Gregorios Chalkites, chartoularios.

Border of dots.

Date:

Last third of
the XIth c.

Commentary:

Šandrovskaja – Seibt considered the alternative reading TU XALKY^τ (for Χαλκούτζη), but it is now quite certain that the correct one is Χαλκίτη.⁷²

The Byzantine family name Chalkites is only rarely attested, starting in the second half of the XIth century. Etymologically, it can either point to the island of Chalke, or to the Χαλκή Πύλη in Constantinople.⁷³

⁷² ŠANDROVSKAJA – SEIBT 58.

⁷³ Cf. VASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* I 481.

The Imperial Chancery

A. Asekretis. 1. Ioannes, spatharokandidatos and asekreteis

VP-656.



B. Protonotarios. 1. Leon, imperial protospatharios and protonotarios (?)

VP-401.



Indeterminate Departments

A. Chartoularios. 1. Gregorios Chalkites, chartoularios

VP-1751.



III.
OFFICES AND DEPARTMENTS
OF THE ARMY

1. Akolouthos

1. N.N., imperial protospatharios and akolouthos

VP-862.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 15.5×15 mm. H. 2 mm.
W. 2.8 g. The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h. Half of seal, two holes.



Find-spot:

Sharky village (near old Rus' Torchesk), Rokytne district, Kyiv oblast'.

Obv. The surface (probably the lower half of the seal) is destroyed. Perhaps there was the invocation Κ(ύρι) ε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ; there is some probability that traces of Θ are discernible at the end of the last but one line.

Rev. Originally inscription of probably four lines, but only three lines are partially preserved:

Date:
late Xth to the first half of the XIth c.

.....
....ΑΘ,Σ
ΑΚΩΛ.
Θ.

[N.N. β(ασιλικῷ)
(πρωτο)σπ]αθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ)
ἀκ(ο)λ[ού]θ[ω].
[+ Lord protect N.N., imperial] proto-
spatharios and akolouthos.
No visible border.

Commentary:

The akolouthos was in charge of foreign soldiers in the imperial retinue (under the droungarios of the vigla). In this period, the akolouthos primarily commanded mercenary soldiers from the Rus'.⁷⁴ Seals of akolouthoi are rare.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Cf. GUILLAND, *Recherches* I 522–524; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Listes* 331.

⁷⁵ Cf. WASSILIOU – SEIBT, *Österreich* II 84; WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* 333; M. CAMPAGNOLO-POTHITOU – CHEYNET, *Sceaux de la collection George Zacos au Musée d'art de d'histoire et Genève*. Milan 2016, 82.

VP-862.



2. Domestikos of the Anatole

1. Ioannes, ek prosopou of Konstantinos, prae- tor of the domestikos of the Anatole

VP-1565.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 21.5×22.5 mm.
D₂. 19 mm. H. 4 mm.
W. 13.2 g.

Find-spot:

Darnytsia district
of Kyiv city.



Obv. Bust of the Mother of God (Nikopoios type). This iconographic type started in the 30s of the XIth c. and reemerged as quite popular in the 70s. The usual sigla **MP – ΘV**: Μ(ήτηρ)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ: *Mother of God*.
Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of six lines:

—.—
ΘΚΕΡ,Θ,
· ΨΕΚΠΡΟΣ,
· ΨΝΠΡΕΤΟΡ,
· ΘΔΟΜΕΣΤ'
· . ΘΤ,ΑΝΑ
ΤΟΛ, —

Date:

perhaps 70s
of the XIth c.

Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) [Ἰ]ω(άννη) ἐκ
προσ(ώπου) [Κ]ων(σταντίνου)
πρ(αί)τορ(ος) [τ]οῦ δομεστ[ίκ]ου
τ(ῆς) Ἀνατολ(ῆς).
+ *Mother of God, aid Ioannes, ek
prosopou of Konstantinos, the praetor of
the domestikos of the Anatole.*
Border of dots.



Commentary:

The domestikos of the scholai of the Orient was the highest military commander of the Byzantine troops in the Eastern part of the empire, esp. responsible for the defence of the eastern front, from the Black Sea to Syria. John was a deputy (*ek prosopou*), most probably not of the domestikos himself, but of the latter's praetor, Konstantinos. Although the third line is a little bit damaged and problematic, this solution seems plausible. The praetor of the domestikos was probably responsible for the military jurisdiction, though we could not find similar references.⁷⁶

For the 70s of the XIth c. we know of at least three domestikoi. Shortly after the battle of Mantzikert Andronikos Doukas, the elder son of Kaisar Ioannes, was installed in this command and remained there at least till the fall of 1073. In the winter of 1073/74 Isaakios Komnenos was domestikos for a short time, but he was soon taken prisoner. It is not clear whether Andronikos replaced him as domestikos (under his father as *strategos autokrator*), but after his first clashes with Roussel and his Franks he also became a prisoner. From 1078, the post was occupied by the Armenian Philaretos Brachamios.

⁷⁶ Perhaps similar to the *κριτής τοῦ στρατοπέδου* or the later *κριτής τοῦ φουσάτου*? Cf. GUILLAND, *Recherches* I 528 – 529. For seals of the latter cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* I 318.

3. Droungarios of the Ploimon

1. Konstantinos(?), patrikios praipositos and droungarios of the ploimon

VP-1628.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 30×32 mm. D₂. 23 mm.
H. 3 mm. W. 14.5 g.
Corroded. Three holes.

Find-spot:

Erkiv village, Kozelets' district, Chernihiv oblast'.



Obv. Inscription of five lines preceded by four dots forming a cross and followed by some dots as ornament:

⋈
+ΚΕΡΟ
ΗΘΕΙ ..
ΔΔΛ ...
ΚΩΝ
ΙΚΙΩ

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines, preceded by an ornament (perhaps again four dots forming a cross) and followed by some dots:

. ΡΕΠΟ
.. ΤΩΣΔ
.. ΓΓΑΡΙ
. ΤΩΝΠΛ,
ΙΜΩΝ

Date:

ca. 1010/1040
perhaps
1028/1034.

+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει [τῷ] δούλ[ῳ] σου]
Κων(σταντίνῳ) [πατρ]ικίῳ
[π]ρ(αι)πο[σί]τῳ (καὶ) δ[ρου]γγαρί[ῳ]
τῶν πλ(ω)ίμων.
+ Lord aid your servant Konstantinos,
patrikios praipositos and droungarios of
the ploimon.

Border of dots.



Commentary:

The title *praipositos* indicates that this man was a eunuch. In this period, eunuchs sometimes became commanders of the imperial fleet.

In the Dumbarton Oaks collection there is a similar (slightly later) seal of a Konstantinos, *patrikios praipositos bestarches* and *domestikos* of the Anatole, with a legend on both sides.⁷⁷ It was appointed to Konstantinos, the brother of Michael IV, who in 1034, became *proedros* and *domestikos* of the Scholae of Anatole and *doux* of Antiocheia.⁷⁸ It is probable that Konstantinos, the commander of the fleet is the same person as the above military commander.

More seals of the *droungarioi* of the fleet are known.⁷⁹ Among them is a type of a seal which records a Konstantinos *βεστάρχης καὶ δρουγγάριος τῶν πλωίων*,⁸⁰ who could also be identical with our person.

⁷⁷ *DOSeals* III 99.5.

⁷⁸ Cf. SEIBT, *Österreich* I 35. In the auction Gorny 196, 7.-9.3.2011, 3196 there was a seal of this Konstantinos only as *proedros* and *domestikos* of the Scholae of Anatole.

⁷⁹ Cf. e. g. LAURENT, *Corpus* II 950–968; SEIBT – ZARNITZ 4.3.8; VASSILIOU – SEIBT, *Österreich* II 94.

⁸⁰ LAURENT, *Corpus* II 967; JORDANOV, *Corpus* III 1050; Seyrig 127. This seal seems to be a little bit later than ours and could represent the next step on Constantine's *cursus honorum*.

4. Topoteretes

1. Symeon Phagas, protospatharios and topoteretes

VP-448.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 24×30 mm. D₂. 20 mm.
H. 3.5 mm. W. 15.4 g.
Hit, corroded.

Find-spot:

Antonovychi village,
Chernihiv district,
Chernihiv oblast.

Analogies:

Private collection (found
in Chernihiv oblast').

Unpublished.



Obv.: Patriarchal cross with rich floral ornaments and pellets at the ends of the cross arms. There was something under the cross other than the usual steps. Crosses without steps are found on anonymous folles, class H (with a globe under the cross), dated by Ph. Grierson to the time of Michael VII Dukas⁸¹. On another type, the base of the cross consists of two lines and rows of dots in between; Ph. Grierson attributed these coins to Nikephoros Bryennios.⁸² Similar crosses on other seals primarily date from the second half of the XI century.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines, with four pearls arranged in cross form between long lines above and under the legend (only partially visible on our seal):

Date:

XIth c., ca.
1040/1080.

. VME
Ω, ἈCΠΑΘ,
CΤΟΠΤΗ
. ΤΗCΩ
. ΑΓΑ,

[Σ]υμεὼ(ν) (πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ)
τοπ(ο)τη[ρ(η)]τῆς ὁ [Φ]αγᾶ(ς).

Symeon Phagas, protospatharios and topoteretes.

Border of dots.

⁸¹ Cf. *DOC* III 2, pl. LXVIII, p. 638.

⁸² *L.c.*, pl. LXX, Nicephorus Bryennius 2.



Commentary:

The parallel piece clearly preserves a Sigma at the beginning and an Epsilon at the end of the first line, so the Christian name Symeon is certain. The first letter of the surname, however, is wholly lost on the parallel seal, and damaged on our one. We prefer to read a Phi, but other letters are possible too (Chi, Mu?).

While the surname Phagas ("the Glutton") is rarely attested in Byzantine sources, we know, already in the time of Justinian I, of an Ioannes Phagas military commander in Italy, on the eastern front and on the Balkan peninsula,⁸³ and of another one who was paroikos in the Chalkidike in 1321.⁸⁴ Topoteretai were primarily the deputies of the commanders of the tagmata, but they were also found elsewhere. Perhaps Symeon had close contacts with a Rus'ian boyar (nobleman) from the region of Chernihiv who had served for some time in the Byzantine army.

⁸³ Cf. *PLRE* III: 665–667 (Ioannes „the Glutton“ 64).

⁸⁴ *PLP* XII 29542.

IV. PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

1. With toponyms

A. Kibyrraioton

1. Michael, *protospatharios* and *strategos Kibyrraioton*(?)

VP- 607.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 19×20 mm. D₂. 19 mm.
H. 2.5 mm. W. 5.8 g.
Poorly printed on the sides,
corroded. The channel of
the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.



Find-spot:

Kyiv.

Obv. Bust of St. Michael vested in the imperial loros, probably holding a sceptre and a globus (globus cruciger?).

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

MIXAHΛ
.. ΠΑΘ,Σ.
... ΤΙΓ,Κ ..
.....

Date:

ca. 1020/1050.

+ Μιχαήλ [(πρωτο)σ]παθ(αρίω) (καὶ)
[στρα]τ(η)γ(ῶ) Κ[ιβυρραιωτῶν]?
+ *Michael, protospatharios and strategos
Kibyrraioton?*

Border of dots.

Commentary:

Michael was the commander of a thema, whose name is nearly lost; the traces, however, probably point towards Kibyrraioton, a naval thema on the southern coast of Anatolia.



B. Nikopolis

1. Theophylaktos, imperial protospatharios and strategos of Nikopolis

1. VP-1080.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 26×23 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 10.5 g. Blank too small for the die, poorly printed on the sides. The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

2. VP-1148.



Publ.:

ALF'OROV, Stosunki 5.

Dimensions:

D. 23 mm. H. 2.5 mm.
W. 6.5 g. Blank too small for the die, bent, corroded, partly pressed, break at of the channel (Obv.). The channel of the seal runs from 9 to 2 h.

Find-spot:

Bobrovysya district, Chernihiv oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) Novgorod Historical and Architectural Museum, no. KP 4101 (found in Rurikovo Gorodishe);
- b) National Historical Museum (Moscow), no. 99453/P-3060 (found in Novgorod; Dendrochronology: 1055–1096).

Publ.:

- a-b) BULGAKOVA, *Osteuropa* 1.2.14-a and b.

Obv. Bust of St. Michael vested in the imperial loros, holding a long scepter (r. hand) and a globus (without a cross) (l. hand). Only the left wing is visible. Of the inscription only one letter is readable, probably **H**:⁸⁵ [Μι-χα]ή(λ): *Michael*.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΘΕΟΦΥ
ΛΑΚΤ,Ρ,Α,
ΣΠΑΘ,Σ
ΤΡΑΤΙΣ,
ΝΙΚΟΠ,

+ Θεοφύλακτος) βασιλικός)
(πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ)
στρατηγ(ός) Νικοπ(όλεως).
+ *Theophylaktos, imperial protospatharios and strategos of Nikopolis.*

Border of dots.

Date:

End of Xth
first quarter
of the XIth c.

Commentary:

Above the legend there are traces of an ornament. Despite the lack of invocation, it would also be possible to transcribe the legend in dative. Most probably, Theophylaktos was a Rus'ian officer who had served in the army of Basil II in the wars against the Bulgarians⁸⁶ and became the military governor of Nikopolis, a thema in North-Western Greece, south of the thema of Dyrrachion and east of the thema of Kephallenia. We know of a synchronous seal belonging to a Michael imperial protospatharios and strategos of Kephallenia and Iericho,⁸⁷ a colleague of

⁸⁵ On a parallel piece Bulgakova interpreted the letters at right as: **X-A-H**.

⁸⁶ The Rus'ian družina played certainly a more important role in these wars against Samuel Komitopoulos than the sources suggest.

⁸⁷ NESBITT — WASSILIOU-SEIBT — SEIBT, *Hecht coll.*, no. 11.

1. VP-1080.



2. VP-1148.



Theophylaktos. All the four known seals of Theophylaktos were found in the Rus', not a single one on Byzantine territory.⁸⁸

In the former Zarnitz collection⁸⁹, now in Munich, there is a slightly earlier seal of a Theophylaktos, also imperial protospatharios and strategos, but of Seleukeia in Anatolia, featuring as well a bust of Michael on the obverse. It is possible that it belonged to the same individual before he had been promoted to the post of Nikopolis.

⁸⁸ For other seals of strategoi Nikopoleos see: SEIBT – SEIBT, *Nikopolis* 327–347, Plates on p. 559–561; *DOSeals* II 2.6–8.

⁸⁹ No. 605.

C. Opsikion

1. Eustratios Chrysoberges, patrikios, krites of the belon and of the hippodrome and chartoularios of the arkla of Opsikion

1. VP-1183.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 20×19 mm. H. 2mm.
W. 5 g. Blank too small for the die. The channel of the seal runs from 8 to 2 h.

Find-spot:

Peremyshlyany city,
Peremyshlyany district, Lviv oblast'.

2. VP-1621.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 17×16 mm. H. 3mm.
W. 3.6 g. Blank too small for the die. The channel of the seal runs from 10 to 4 h.

Find-spot:

Mena city, Mena district,
Chernihiv oblast'.

Analogy:

Utpadel's collection (Munich).

Unpublished.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

+ΚΕΡΘ
ΕΥΣΤΡΑΤΙΩ
ΠΡΙΚΙΩΚΡΙ
ΤΟΥΡΗΛΛΟΥ
ΠΙΠΠΙΟ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΑΡΚΛΑΚΤ
ΟΨΙΚΙΟΥ
ΧΡΥΣΟΒΕΡΓΗ

Date:

1050/1080.

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Εὐστρατίω
π(α)τρικίω κρι[τ(ῆ)] τοῦ βήλου (καὶ)
[ἐ]πὶ τ(οῦ) (ἰ)πποδρόμου [(καὶ)]
χ(α)ρτου(λαρίω) τῆ[ς] ἄρκλας τ[οῦ]
Ὀψικίου τ[ῷ] Χρ(υσο)βέργ[ῃ].
+ Lord aid Eustratios Chrysoberges,
patrikios, krites of the belon and of the
hippodrome and chartoularios of the
arkla of Opsikion.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

The last line of the obverse is problematic; the letter in front of the double Pi seems to be Tau, perhaps a kind of a ligature of Tau-lota; otherwise the lota of hippodrome would be missing.

A seal certainly belonging to the same person, only one step earlier in his career, was presented in the Rauch auction (Vienna) 94, 9.-11.4.2014, no. 1598. There we read: + Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Εὐστρατ(ίω) (πρωτο)σπαθαρί(ω) ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) Χρ(υσο)(τρι)κλί(νου) κριτ(ῆ) ἐπὶ τ(οῦ)

1. VP-1183.



2. VP-1621.



ἵπποδρ(ό)μ(ου) / τοποτ(η)ριτῆ τοῦ τεῖχ(οῦ) (καὶ) χ(αρ)τουλ(α)ρ(ίω)
ἄρκλας τοῦ Ὀψικ(ίου) ὁ Χρ(υσο)βέργ(ης).⁹⁰

Arkla is a cash register, and the Chartoularioi of a thema were in charge of its cadasters, the tax registers. Eustratios Chrysoberges was a judge with jurisdiction on financial matters.

The Chrysobergai were members of the civil aristocracy in the XIth century and also held prominent posts in ecclesiastical administration during the XIth and XIIth centuries. A contemporary of Eustratios, Theodosios Chrysoberges, became patriarch of Antiocheia in 1057, and another family member, Lukas Chrysoberges, even made it to oecumenical patriarch (1157–1170).

⁹⁰ The ligature Chi-Rho was used twice here, for Chrysotriklinos and for Chrysoberges.

D. Peloponnesos

1. Ioannes, imperial protospatharios and strategos of Peloponnesos

VP-317.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 22×23 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 7.2 g. Partially pressed
on the sides. The channel of
the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

Hluhiv city, Hluhiv dis-
trict, Sumy oblast'.



Page 102

Obv. Full-length standing figure of St. Ioannes the Theologian (the evangelist) blessing (r. hand) and holding the Gospels (l. hand). Inscription on either side: $\Theta|\iota - \omicron|\theta|\epsilon|\omicron|\lambda$,: 'Ο ἅγιος Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Θεολόγος: St. Ioannes the Theologian.⁹¹

Circular inscription:
 $\Psi\omega\Delta\omicron\nu\lambda\omega$: [+ K(ύρι)ε βοήθει τ]ῷ
σῷ δούλῳ.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΙΩΡ,Α,Ϛ,
ΠΑΘ,ΣϚ
ΡΑΤΙΓΩΠ
ΕΛΩΠΟ . .
ϚϚΟ .

+ [K(ύρι)ε βοήθει τ]ῷ σῷ δούλῳ
'Ιω(άννη) β(ασιλικῷ)
(πρωτο)σπαθ(αρί(ῳ) (καὶ) στρατ(η)γῷ
Πελ(ο)πο[ν(ν)ή]σσο[ν].
+ Lord aid your servant Ioannes, imperial
protospatharios and strategos of Pelopon-
nesos.

Border of dots.

Date:

ca. 1020/1060.

Commentary:

This strategos does not mention his family name. In the year 1036 a strategos Ioannes Dermokaites was taken prisoner by the Pechenegs in Bulgaria and probably killed.⁹² In the year 1034 an Ioannes was dispatched to Italy as commander of the fleet against Orestes.⁹³

⁹¹ This St. John was especially venerated in Ephesos. The sign for ὁ ἅγιος is of extraordinary size.

⁹² Skyl: 399, 11.

⁹³ Skyl: 389, 57f. In former times he had been a servant (eunuch?) of Basil II.

E. Ros

1. Kommerkion ton Ros

VP-1641.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 17 mm. D₂. 15 mm.
H. 3 mm. W. 5.1 g. Partially
pressed on the sides.
The channel of the seal
runs from 2 to 7 h.



Page 102

Find-spot:

Mena district,
Chernihiv oblast'.

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

+CΦΡΑ
ΓΙCΜΑ
ΤΩΝ...

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΤΥΓΧΑ
ΝΨΚΟΜΜΕ
ΚΙΟΝ

Date:

XIIth c.,
second to
third third.

Analogies:

- a) Private collection
(found in Belarus);
- b) Private collection
(found in Ukraine);
- c) Private collection
of O. Alf'orov
(found in Hlyboke v.,
Boryspil' d., Kyiv o.).

Border of dots.

+ Σφράγισμα τῶν [Ρὼς] τυγχάνω
κομμε[ρ]κίου.

+ *I am the seal of the Kommerkion
of the Ros.*

Border of dots.

Unpublished.

Commentary:

At least some letters have an accent (acute); the two Mu on the rev. are
ligated.

The inscription is written in a regular dodecasyllable. The missing letters
are reconstructed with the help of the parallel pieces.

This is the seal of a Byzantine office which organized and oversaw com-
merce with Rus', esp. with merchants from the Rus'. This is the period
when Byzantium signed its well-known commercial contracts with Ven-
ice and Genoa. Nevertheless, we remain in the dark about similar com-
mercial deals with the Rus' taking place the XIIth century.

F. Thrace and Macedonia

1. Nikolaos Zounaras, krites of Thrace and Macedonia

1. VP-1343.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 13×12.5 mm. H. 4 mm.
W. 2.9 g. Blank too small for the die. The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.

2. VP-1598.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 13.5×13 mm. H. 4 mm.
W. 3.2 g. Blank too small for the die. The channel of the seal runs from 10 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.

3. VP-1599.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 13.5×11 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 3.1 g. Blank too small for the die. The channel of the seal runs from 2 to 8 h.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.

Analogies:

- There are at least 12 more seals of similar small diameter; all of them from Chernihiv oblast' and neighbouring regions, and five seals with the complete legend from Byzantine territory;
- Private collection of O. Alf'orov (found in Veremiivka v., Cherkasy d., Cherkasy o.).

Publ.:

- SEIBT — HULECKI — TIGUNTSEV;
- unpublished.

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God with a bust of Christ (Episkepsis-type). No sigla visible.

No visible border.

Rev. The boullotery had originally seven lines, but up to four lines are visible on the seals:

Date:

End of the Xth c.

.....
 ΝΙΚΟΛΑ .
 ΚΡΙΤΗΘ . .
 ΚΙΚΚΑΙΜ .
 ΚΕΔΟΝ . . .
 ΤΩΣ . .

+ [Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει)] Νικολά[φ]
 κριτῆ Θ[ρά]κ(η)ς καὶ Μ[α]κεδον[ίας]
 τῷ Ζ[ουναρῶ].

+ Mother of God help Nikolaos Zounaras, krites of Thrace and Macedonia.

Border of dots.

1. VP-1343.



2. VP-1598.



3. VP-1599.



Commentary:

It is possible that these small seals originated from certain internal political issues of the Rus' c. 1097/1098. In 1097 the kniazi assembled in Liubech to divide the realm of Chernihiv among the two brothers Davyd and Oleh-Michael Sviatoslavych. They, therefore, created the new realm of Novhorod-Sivers'kyi. Perhaps the emperor was requested to dispatch a neutral intermediary to come up with an acceptable solution for both brothers. This person might have been Nikolaos Zounaras (along with his assistants) since he, most probably, already possessed some experience as apographeus and thematic judge of Thrace and Macedonia. Then all these small seals would stem from these activities (1097/1098).⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Cf. SEIBT – HULETSKI – TIGUNTSEV.

2. Without toponyms

A. Doux

1. Alexios(?) Tarchaneiotes, proedros and doux

VP-282.

Publ.:

ALF'OROV, Stosunki 4.

Dimensions:

D. 26×23 mm. D₂. 20 mm.
H. 5 mm. W. 14.9 g. Break
at both ends of the channel.
The channel of the seal
runs from 10 to 5 h. The
obverse and the upper part
of the reverse is damaged.

Find-spot:

Rohozyn village, Boryspil'
district, Kyiv oblast'.



Obv. Bust of St. Michael(?).
Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of (originally) six lines,
with an ornament under the legend:



Page 103

Date:
ca. last third
XIth c.

.....
.....
ΑΛΕΞΙΩΠ ..
ΔΡΩ .. Η ..
ΤΩΤΑΡΧΑ
.. ΨΤΗ

[+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω)]
Ἀλεξίω π[ροέ]δρῳ [κ(αὶ) δ]ου[κ(ι)]
τῷ Ταρχα[νι]ώτῃ.
+ Lord aid Alexios Tarchaneiotes,
proedros and doux.
Border of dots.

Commentary:

Given that many letters are damaged, the reading cannot be established with certainty. Esp. the Christian name is obscure, but reading "Alexios" seems preferable to Basileios who would have been much better documented in the sources.⁹⁵ In addition, we know of another Alexios Tarchaneiotes sebastos from the second third of the XII c., who was at least one generation younger than our proedros.⁹⁶ The family Tarchaneiotes remained prominent since the XIth century.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Cf. VASSILIOU – SEIBT, Österreich II, no. 248; LEONTIADES, *Tarchaneiotai* 38–41, no. 3.

⁹⁶ LEONTIADES, *Tarchaneiotai* 57–58, no. 19.

⁹⁷ LEONTIADES, *Tarchaneiotai*.

B. Strategos

1. Joseph Charabiotes(?), protospatharios and strategos

VP-1633.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 24×25 mm. H. 2.5 mm.
W. 11.6 g. Blank too small
for the die. The canal
runs from 9 to 3 h.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast¹.



Obv. Inscription of five lines:

Κ...
ΤΩΣΩΔ
ΙΩΣΗΦΑ
ΤΟΣΠΑ.
—P,—

Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of four lines:

· ΤΡΑΤΗ
· ΩΤΩΧΑ
· ΑΡΙΩΤ,
— · —

Κ[(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ δ(ούλῳ)
Ἰωσήφ (πρω)τοσπα[θ(α)]ρ(ίῳ)]
[ύπάτ(ω) (;) (καὶ) σ]τρατη[γ]ῷ τῷ
Χα[ρ]αβιώτ(η) (?).
Lord aid Your servant Joseph Charabi-
otes(?), protospatharios, hypatos(?) and
strategos.

Border of dots.



Page 103

Date:

ca. 1040/1070.

Commentary:

Since originally there were more than three letters between the (πρω)τοσπα[θ(α)]ρ(ίῳ)] and the σ]τρατη[γ]ῷ, we propose a second title, scil. hypatos, e. g. ВПАТ, (together with S), as many strategoi in this time were protospatharioi hypatoi. The lota has a trema.

The reading of the surname is also problematic. The first letter is probably a Chi, but Kappa cannot be excluded either; the third letter is nearly totally lost (perhaps the remaining vestiges could point to Rho), and the fifth one is damaged (Beta is only first choice). The surname Charabiotes is not attested elsewhere, but as the suffix —ιώτης points to a geographical origin, Ioseph probably came from a village called Charabi(on) or something similar. The martyrion of St. Eugenios, composed by the patriarch Ioannes Xiphilinos (XIth century), mentions a village named Χάραβις, not far from Trapezunt, later on called Χάραβα (on the river Χαρσόρα).⁹⁸ We should also bear in mind that e. g. Harāba is an Arabic name for Asmosata on the Arsianias / Murat.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Cf. Odysseas LAMPSIDES, Ἅγιος Εὐγένιος ὁ Τραπεζοῦντιος, *Archeion Pontou* 18 (1953) 160, l. 592.

⁹⁹ Cf. HONIGSMANN, *Ostgrenze* 235.

With toponyms

Peloponnesos.

Ioannes, imperial protospatharios and strategos of Peloponnesos

VP-317.



Ros.

Kommerkion ton Ros

VP-1641.



Without toponyms

Doux.

Alexios(?) Tarchaneiotēs, proedros and doux

VP-282.



Strategos

Joseph Charabiotes(?), protospatharios and strategos

VP-1633.



V.
ECCLESIASTICAL
ADMINISTRATION

1. Personal Seals

A. Patriarch

1. Sergios, archbishop (patriarch) of Constantinople, the New Rome

VP-1095.

Publ.:

ΑΛΦ'ΟΡΟΝ, Κατάλογ 22.

Dimensions:

D. 29.5 mm. H. 3 mm.

W. 14.2 g. Corroded.

The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

In the vicinity of Kyiv.

Analogies:

Coll. Tatış

Publ.:

Cheyne, Tatış, 6.2.



Obv. Bust of St. Sergios, with his rich curled hair-dress reaching till the shoulders, probably bearing the martyr's cross in his right hand. St. Sergios, an officer in Syria, was martyred in 303 AD. He is only rarely depicted alone on seals,¹⁰⁰ since in most cases he is featured along with St. Bakchos.¹⁰¹ Inscription on either side: $\Theta|\Sigma\epsilon|\rho|$ – $\Gamma|I|$.: Ὁ ἅγιος Σέργιος: *Saint Sergios*. Traces of a circular inscription, probably: + Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δοῦλῳ: *Lord help your servant*.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

ΣΕΡΓΙ.
ΑΡΧΙΕΠ.
. Κ,ΚΩΝΣΤΑ
.. ΙΝΟΝΠΟΔ,
.. Α...
Μ,

Σεργί[ω] ἀρχιεπ[ισ]κ(όπῳ)
Κωνστα[ντ]ινουπόλ(εως) [Νέ]α[ς]
Ῥώ]μ(ης).

*Sergios, archbishop of Constantinople,
the New Rome.*

Border of dots.

Date:

1001 – 1019.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. e.g. ЛІКНАСЧЕВ, Моливодувлы, pl. 70, 7.

¹⁰¹ Cf. MAYERHOFER 82–83, no. 95–96.



Commentary:

Above the legend, between the horizontal lines, there is probably an X with pearls in the quarters.

Another type of seal of the same patriarch is also well-known. In accordance with the tradition of patriarchal seals in this period, it features a standing figure of the Theotokos Hodegetria on the obverse and the invocation, but the reverse legend has an identical arrangement to our seal.¹⁰²

Sergios, a relative of Photios, had been abbot of the monastery τοῦ Μανουήλ in Constantinople for decades before he was elected patriarch in June or July 1001; he passed away in July 1019.

¹⁰² *DOSeals* VI 116.1; *Zacos* II 12; *LAURENT, Corpus* V/3 1630.

B. Metropolitans

1. Basil, metropolitan of Kerkyra (Corfu)

1. VP-601.



Page 110

Publ.:

ALF'OROV, Καταλογ
23; WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2758.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

Dimensions:

D. 25×27 mm. H. 2 mm. W. 8 g. Blank too small for the die. The channel of the seal runs from 12 to 6 h.

2. VP-644.



Page 110

Unpublished.**Find-spot:**

Ukraine.

Dimensions:

D. 22.5 mm. H. 2.5 mm. W. 8.8 g. Blank too small for the die, corroded. The channel of the seal runs from 12 to 6 h.

3. VP- 1551.



Page 111

Unpublished.**Find-spot:**

Ukraine.

Dimensions:

D. 27×11 mm. H. 2.5 mm. W. 9 g. Half of the seal, corroded. The channel of the seal runs from 12 to 6 h.

Analogies:

Private collection, Ukraine (found in Zvenyhorod v., Pustomyty d., Lviv o.).

Unpublished.

Obv. Three full-length standing figures: in the centre, the Mother of God, holding with both hands a medallion with Christ before her breast (standing Nikopoios type); inscription above: **MP – ΘΝ**: Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εο)ῦ: *Mother of God*; on the left, Apostle Paul bearing the book of Gospels (l. h and); traces of vertical inscription behind: **Θ|Π|.Υ**: Ὁ ἅγιος Π[α]ύλ[ος]: *Saint Paulos*; on the right side, Apostle Peter holding a long cross (l. hand); traces of vertical inscription behind: **Θ|Π|Ε|Τ**: Ὁ ἅγιος Πέτ[ρ]ος: *Saint Petros*.

Border of dots.**Rev.** Inscription of five lines:

+CΦΡΑ
ΓΙCΠΡΟ
ΕΔΡΘΚΕΡ
.ΥΡΩΝΡΑ
... ΕΙΟΝ

+ Σφραγίς προέδρου Κερ[κ]ύρων
Βα[σ]ιλίου.
+ Seal of Basileios, proedros of Kerkyra (Corfu).

Border of dots.**Date:**

Last quarter of the XIth – beginning of the XIIth c.

Commentary:

A dodecasyllable with the caesura positioned at B5. Kerkyra was elevated from an archbishopric to a metropolis sometime before 1089. Since the seal originates from this period, it is not clear whether Basil had already

been a metropolitan when he used this seal. A very similar type of seal was used by Basileios' immediate predecessor (or successor) John.¹⁰³ In the reverse legend only the name at the end is changed, and the obverse also features standing figures of St. Paulos and St. Petros, albeit without the Theotokos. The main church of Kerkyra was dedicated to the two apostles. Neither Ioannes, nor Basileios are attested in other sources.

2. Niketas, metropolitan of Nazianzos

VP-1568.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 22×21 mm. H. 2 mm.
W. 6.1 g. Blank too small for the die, pressed in the upper half. The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

near Chernihiv,
Chernihiv oblast'.



Obv. Bust of the Mother of God, orans (Blachernitissa type). Sigla: **MP** — . . :
Μ(ή)τηρ [Θ(εο)ῦ]: *Mother of God.*
Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of five lines:

.....
· Γ · · · · ·
· Ο · · · · · Ο V N
· Ζ Ι Α Ν Ζ Ο V
Ν Ι Κ , Τ Α

[+ Σφρα]γ[ις (πρω)τοπρ]ο[έδρ]ου
Ν[α]ζιανζοῦ Νικ(ή)τα.
+ *Seal of Niketas, the protoproedros of Nazianzos.*
No visible border.



Page 111

Date:

Late XIth –
first half of
the XIIth c.

Commentary:

The upper part of the legend is heavily damaged. Our proposal constitutes an initial hypothesis which produces two heptasyllables. Protoproedros is here a metaphor of metropolitan.

For centuries, Nazianzos had been a suffragan of Mokissos, the metropolis of Cappadocia III, but was upgraded to a metropolis (without suffragans) during the reign of Romanos IV Diogenes (1067–1071).¹⁰⁴ Given that there is an extant seal of a Gregorios as episkopos¹⁰⁵ and another one in the former Zacos collection (*Unpublished*), of a Gregorios metropolitan of Nazianzos (both with a bust of St. Gregorios of Nazianzos on the obverse), we are dealing with the same individual who was promoted from episkopos to metropolitan. Our seal is a bit later in date. One of Gregorios' successors was Nikephoros, documented in the years 1166 and 1172.¹⁰⁶ In the XIVth century the metropolis was degraded to an archbishopric.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Cf. VASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 2759; *DOSeals* II 5.4.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. GRUMEL, *Regestes* III 899.

¹⁰⁵ ZACOS II 483.

¹⁰⁶ FEDALTO I 4.6.3.

¹⁰⁷ Documented for 1372; cf. also *PLP* 17600.

Metropolitans

Basil, metropolitan of Kerkyra (Corfu)

1. VP-601.



2. VP-644.



3. VP- 1551.



Niketas, metropolitan of Nazianzos

VP-1568.



C. Bishops

1. Symeon, bishop of Aulon

VP-420.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 26×27 mm. D₂. 20.5 mm.

H. 2.5 mm. W. 11.7 g.

The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Chernivtsi city,
Chernivtsi oblast'.



Obv. Bust of the Mother of God “of the Sign” (Episkepsis), but the child is not in a medallion. Inscription above her hands: **ΗΡ – ΘΥ**: Μ(ήτ)ηρ Θ(εο)ῦ: *Mother of God.*
Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΣΦΡΓΙΣ
ΣΥΜΕΩΝ
ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩ
ΑΥΛΩΝΟΣ
:-

+ Σφρ(α)γίς Συμεών ἐπισκόπου
Αὐλῶνος.

+ *Seal of Symeon, bishop of Aulon.*

Border of dots.



Page 115

Date:

XIIIth c.,
second half.

Commentary:

The inscription forms a dodecasyllable. Under the legend, between horizontal lines, there are probably two dots.

Aulon was a quite common placename in antiquity and the Middle Ages. There is a well-known city in southern Illyria (Epirus), called Aulon, Aulona or Aulonia, modern Vlorë in Albania, which appears in the *Notitiae episcopatum* under the name Αὐλώνια as a suffragan of Dyrrachion, for the last time in *not.* 10, 618 (from the early XIth century). In *not.* 13 (XIIth century) there is no mention of it neither under Dyrrachion or elsewhere.¹⁰⁸

In the same *not.* 13 we find Αὐλών (modern Aulonari in Central Euboea¹⁰⁹) as a suffragan of Athens.¹¹⁰ In the XIIIth century, Euboea came under Latin dominium,¹¹¹ with quickly changing masters. There were also Latin bishops in Lavlona / la Valona etc., as the town is called in Latin documents. It was not before the reign of Michael VIII that the Byzantines became more active on the island. Around that time a Greek bishop could have been reinstated in Euboea (at least for some time).¹¹² This seal constitutes the first piece of evidence mentioning an orthodox bishop on the island in this period. In the *not.* 21, 176 (already under Turkish dominium) Aulon is registered as a suffragan of Euripos on Euboea. The seal probably stems from one of Symeon's letters to a bishop in Rus', whom he had met in Constantinople.

¹⁰⁸ Fedalto records the last bishop in 553! (FEDALTO I 531, no. 47.7.3).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. KODER – HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia* 130f; KODER, *Negroponte* 105–108, 136–137.

¹¹⁰ DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae* 13, 456.

¹¹¹ A Greek bishop is still mentioned in 1208, cf. FEDALTO I 494, no. 46.9.3.

¹¹² For the history of Euboea / Negroponte in the XIII century cf. KODER, *Negroponte* 45–50.

2. Christophoros, (bishop) of Beroe

VP-1642.

Unpublished.**Dimensions:**D. 21 mm. D₂. 18 mm.

H. 3 mm. W. 6 g. Bent.

The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

confluence of the Dnipro River with Sozh River, between Vetkov and Budo-Koshelevski district, Homel' oblast, Republic of Belarus.

Analogies:

- a) DO 55.1.3799;
- b) Yambol, Museum of History 5467;
- c) Private collection of S. Diachkov (Velikij Novgorod, found in Novgorod, Gorodishche, RF).

Publ.:

- a) LAURENT, *Corpus V*/3 1821; *DOSeals I* 64.2;
- b) JORDANOV, *Corpus I* 18.2A (fig.), but 18.2B (text); *Corpus III* 1684;
- c) BULGAKOVA, *Osteuropa* 1.3.1.



Obv. The Virgin seated on a throne, holding Christ on her lap. The maphorion spreads out over the throne. Sigla: . . $\bar{P}$ – $\bar{\Theta}\bar{\nu}$: [M(ήτ)η]ρ Θ(εο)ῦ: Mother of God.

No visible border.**Rev.** Inscription of four lines:

+
 $\overline{\chi\omega\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\nu\omicron}$
 $\overline{\pi\alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\eta\eta}$.
 $\overline{\rho\epsilon\rho\omicron}$. .
 $\overline{\sigma\kappa\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota}$.

+ Χ(ριστ)(ό)φορον, Πάναγν[ε],
 Βερό[ης] σκέποι[ς].
 + (Virgin), perfect in purity, protect
 Christophoros, (bishop) of Beroe.

Border of dots.

Page 115

Date:

End of the
 XIth – first
 third of the
 XIIth c.

Commentary:

A dodecasyllabic verse.

Christophoros was the bishop of Beroe. This town in Bulgaria is the successor of Augusta Traiana, modern Stara Zagora.¹¹³ Up to the IXth century, Beroe was an autocephalous archbishopric, but, surprisingly, it is not mentioned in later *Notitiae episcopatum*. In the period which the seal dates from, the military commander of Beroe was a katepano.¹¹⁴

In Sofia, there is another seal of this man, with the same verse, though slightly differently arranged, and with a standing figure of the Theotokos Hodegetria.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Cf. SOUSTAL, *Thrakien* 203–205.

¹¹⁴ Cf. VASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Balkangrenze* 168–170; fig. 1–2 on p. 169.

¹¹⁵ JORDANOV, *Corpus I* 18.2B (fig.), 18.2A (text); III 1683.

3. Ioannes, bishop of Settai

VP-669.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 19×22 mm. D₂. 18 mm.

H. 2 mm. W. 4.8 g.

Corroded. The channel of the seal runs from 12 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

Zahaitsi village, Pidhatsi district, Ternopil' oblast'.



Obv. Bust of St. Ioannes Prodromos, his right hand in a gesture of allocution, his left hand holds probably a scroll. Traces of the inscription on either side: Θ|ΙΩ|Ο – ΠΡ|Ω|ΔΡ: Ὁ ἄγιος Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Πρ(ό)δρ(ομος): St. Ioannes Prodromos. The Rho is inscribed into the Pi.¹¹⁶

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ΙΩΕ
ΠΙCKO
ΠΩCET
ΤΩΝ
—.—

Date:

ca. 1010/1040.

+ Ἰω(άννη) ἐπισκόπῳ Σεττῶν.
+ Ioannes, bishop of Settai.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

The second and the third letter of the bishopric is damaged, but the vestiges allow for the proposed reconstruction. Σέτ(τ)αι ἤτοι Μαγιδία was a suffragan of Sardeis, the metropolis of Lydia. The seals of these bishops are extremely rare, but the bulla of a Leon,¹¹⁷ with a patriarchal cross with fleurons on the obverse (second half of the Xth c.) was presented in an auction. Fedalto does not mention a single bishop after the VIIIth c.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ This ligature is not available in the fonts of Athena Ruby.

¹¹⁷ Münz Zentrum Rheinland 150, January 7-8, 2009, lot 600.

¹¹⁸ FEDALTO I 19.22.3.

Bishops

1. Symeon, bishop of Aulon

VP-420.



2. Christophoros, (bishop) of Beroe

VP-1642.



3. Ioannes, bishop of Settai

VP-669.



D. Abbots / Abbesses

1. Petros, kouboukleisios and hegoumenos of the monastery of Angourios(?)

VP-1630.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 23×22 mm. D₂. 20 mm.
H. 2.5mm. W. 6.6 g. Break
at end of the channel (obv.),
poorly printed on the
sides. The channel of the
seal runs from 9 to 4 h.



Page 120

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin Hodegetria holding Christ in her left arm. Only traces of the sigla at left: **MP**: Μ(ήτηρ)ρ [Θ(εο)ῦ]: *Mother of God*.
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+. Ε. ΡΟ,
ΚΘΡΘΚΛ,
ΣΗΓΘΜΤΘ
ΑΓΓ

Date:

1020/1040.

+ [Π]έ[τ]ρο(ς) κουβουκλ(είσιος) (καὶ)
ἡγούμε(ενος) τοῦ Ἀγγ[ουρίου](?).
+ *Petros, kouboukleisios and hegoumenos*
(of the monastery) of Angourios(?).
Border of dots

Commentary:

There are only traces of the name, but Petros seems to be a secure reading. The ligature Omikron-Ypsilon has the typical “transitional form” to the “Horse-shoe”.

The name of the monastery is not certain, as the third letter can both be a Gamma and a Iota, or even another letter. In the period the seal was struck, there was a μονὴ τοῦ Ἀγγουρίου, probably on the southern part of the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus.¹¹⁹ V. Laurent published another seal (without a photo) which featured St. Ioannes Prodromos at the obverse. Although almost only ΑΓΓ was more or less readable (according to his transcription), he attributed it to a hegoumenos of the monastery of Angourios, a Ioannes kouboukleisios.¹²⁰ The family Angoures/Angourios is well-known from the IXth to the XIth century.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Cf. JANIN, *Centres* 27f.

¹²⁰ LAURENT, *Corpus* II 1138.

¹²¹ Cf. JORDANOV, *Corpus* II 4.

2. Philemona, hegoumene

VP-937.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 20 mm. D₂. 16 mm.

H. 3 mm. W. 6.7 g.

Corroded. The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 6 h.



Page 120

Find-spot:

Zhytomyr oblast'.

Analogies:

a-b) Private collection of
O. Alf'orov (found in
v. Mykhailo-Kotsubyns'ke,
Chernihiv d., Chernihiv o.;
v. Horodnia, Chernihiv d.,
Chernihiv o.).

Obv. Assumption of the Virgin (Koimesis). The Theotokos is depicted at the center, lying on a bed, surrounded by the apostles. Christ with Maria's soul is visible behind the bed. There are some small letters at the top, perhaps **ΗΚΟΙΜΘ**: Ἡ κοίμη(ησις) Θε(οτόκου). This scene begun to be depicted on seals only in the last third of the XIth century. We know of more examples dating from the XIIth c.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

±ΘΞΕ. Ο
ΗΘ. . ΦΝ
ΔΙΜΟΝΑ Η
ΓΥΜΕΝΗ

+ Θε(οτό)κε [β]οήθ[ει] Φ(ι)λ(η)μόνα
ἡγουμένη.

+ *Mother of God help of the abbess
Philemona.*

Border of dots.

Date:

last third
of the XIth –
beginning
of the XIIth c.

Unpublished.

Commentary:

Two parallel seals in the collection of Alf'orov. The last letter of the legend is not sure, but we prefer H to Θ.

Philemon (Φιλήμων) is attested for antiquity, but became very rare in middle Byzantine times. The PmbZ mentions a single person, the father of Gregorios, who became Papias in 867 (PmbZ 2505). The female form Philemona is not registered elsewhere. Perhaps her monastery was dedicated to the Koimesis.

E. Monks

1. Alexios, monk

VP-1062.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 20×14 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 4.1 g. Blank too small
for the die. Half of the
seal. The channel of the
seal runs from 11 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

Lubych district,
Chernihiv oblast'.



Obv. Bust of the Mother of God, her hands are placed in front of her breast ("Minimalorantengestus"). Only the sigla at left are preserved: **MP:** Μ(ήτηρ) [Θ(εο)ῦ]: *Mother of God.*
Border of dots.



Rev. Originally inscription of three lines:

...
... **ΣΙΨ**
... **ΑΧΨ**

[+ Θ(εοτό)κε βο(οή)θ(ει) Ἀλε]ξίω
[μον]αχῷ.

+ *Theotokos, aid the monk Alexios.*

Border of dots.



Page 121

Date:
ca. 1040/1080.

Commentary:

Though much of the legend is lost, the reconstruction seems plausible. Under the legend, between the horizontal bars there is an X with pearls in the quarters, between horizontal bars. We do not know if this monk lived in the Byzantine empire or in the Rus'.

2. Klemes, monk

VP-1118.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 11×14 mm. D₂. 8 mm.
H. 3 mm. W. 2.4 g.
The channel of the seal
runs from 12 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

Kyiv oblast'.



Obv. Bust of the Virgin Blachernitissa. Of the sigla only on the r. side is visible: **Θ:** [Μ(ήτηρ)] Θ(εοῦ): *Mother of God.* Rest of a former imprint with bigger Dimensions.
Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+**Θ̄Κ̄Ε**
ΡΟΗΘ,
ΚΛΙΜΗ
—ΑΧ—

+ Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθ(ει) Κλ(ή)μη
(μονα)χ(ῷ).

+ *Mother of God, help the monk Klemes.*

Border of dots.



Page 121

Date:
Xth c.,
second to
third third.

Commentary:

Erroneous abbreviation mark after the Eta in l. 2. In the Dumbarton Oaks collection there is a slightly later seal of a monk Klemes, which only bears the inscription Σγραγὶς Κλημέντος / εὐτελοῦς μονοτρόπου.¹²² But there is not any hint pointing to an identification of the two homonymoi. Greek Klemes corresponds to Latin Clemens and Slavic Kliment.

¹²² DO 55.1.5012, ed. LAURENT, *Corpus V* 1969; VASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus II* 2493.

3. Theodoros, monachos (?)

VP-1645.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**D. 15×16 mm. D₂. 14 mm.

H. 2 mm. W. 2.9 g.

Hit, break at end of the
channel (rev.).**Find-spot:**near Volodymyr, Volodymyr
district, Volyn' oblast'.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodoros, hold-
ing a long spear (r. hand) and a shield
(l. hand). Inscription on two columns:
Θ|Θ|Ε|.-Δ|Ω|ΡΟ,· Ο ἅγιος
Θε[ό]δωρο(ς): *Saint Theodoros.*

Border of dots.**Rev.** Inscription of four lines:

·
·
·
·
ΚΕΡΟ
ΗΘΕΙΘΕ
ΟΔΩΡΟ
Μ.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει Θεοδώρ(ω)

μ(ονα)[χ(ῶ)]?

+ *Lord, aid the monk(?) Theodoros.***Border of dots.**

Page 121

Date:last third
XIth – first
quarter
XIIth c.**Commentary:**

In the fourth line there were probably only two letters; the vestiges point
to Mu and Chi, denoting μοναχῶ.

Abbots / Abbesses

1. Petros, kouboukleisios and hegoumenos of the monastery of Angourios (?)

VP-1630.



2. Philemona, hegoumene

VP-937.



Monks

1. Alexios, monk

VP-1062.



2. Klemes, monk

VP-1118.



3. Theodoros, monachos(?)

VP-1645.



2. Corporate Seals

A. Monastery

1. The Monastery(?) of Christos Philanthropos

VP-1006.

Publ.:

ALF'OROV, Καταλογ 24.

Dimensions:

D. 29.5×32 mm. D₂. 23 mm.
H. 3 mm. W. 15.5 g. Two
holes at the top and at
the bottom of the seal.
The channel of the seal
runs from 12 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

Kyiv district, Kyiv oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) DO 55.1.4936;
- b) DO 55.1.4937;
- c) Hermitage M-6819.

Publ.:

- a) DOSeals V 56.4; LAURENT,
Corpus V/3 1909;
- b) DOSeals V 56.4;
- c) ŠANDROVSKAJA,
Sfragistika 811 (without
photo); LAURENT,
Corpus V/2, 1183
(with Schlumberger's
facsimile); SCHLUMBERGER,
Sigillographie 139–140
(with facsimile).¹²³



Page 126

Obv. Bust of Jesus Christ holding the Book of the Gospels; on either side of the Savior, the sigla: **IC – XC**: Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς; *Jesus Christ*. Circular inscription: **+ΟΦΙΛΑΝ – ΘΡΩΠΟΣ**: Ὁ Φιλάνθρωπος; *The Philanthropos*.
Border of dots.

Rev. Bust of the Virgin Mary holding her hands before her breast (“Minimalorantengestus”); on either side the usual sigla: **ΜΡ – ΘΥ**: Μ(ή)τηρ Θ(εο)ῦ; *Mother of God*.
Border of dots.

Date:

XIIth c., ca.
first half.

Commentary:

This type of seals is normally connected with the monastery τοῦ Φιλανθρώπου (πλησίον τῆς μονῆς τῆς Χώρας), founded by the wife of Alexios I, empress Eirene Doukaina, along with the female monastery of the Theotokos Kecharitomene.¹²⁴ We should bear in mind that there was also another monastery of Christ Philanthropos in the capital.¹²⁵ The above identification of Philanthropos with a monastery, is far from certain, since the bust and the inscription could merely reflect the iconographic preference of the sealing person. On the other hand we know of a seal which mentions the monastery directly¹²⁶ and of two other seals belonging to monks vel abbots of the monastery.¹²⁷

¹²³ Schlumberger mentioned a second specimen in his possession, which is not in the Hermitage museum today.

¹²⁴ Cf. JANIN, *Églises* 525–527, no. 26.

¹²⁵ JANIN, *Églises* 525, no. 26–27; 527–529, no. 27.

¹²⁶ DOSeals V 56.3; WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 2742.

¹²⁷ DOSeals V 56.1–2; WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 1459.

2. The Monastery (or a church) of the Hagioi Apostoloi

VP-1564.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 29×28 mm. D₂. 19 mm.
H. 4 mm. W. 13.3 g. Bent,
cut with a sharp object.
The channel of the seal
runs from 1 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

Kyiv oblast'.



Page 126

Obv. Damaged bust of a saint, perhaps of St. Petros, judging by our interpretation of the letters on the right side as T–P. The legend would therefore read: .|.|. – TP|.: [Ο ἅγιος Πέτρος]: St. Petros.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

±ΤΩΝ
ΑΓΙΩΝ
ΑΠΟΣΤ,
.

+ Τῶν Ἀγί(ω)ν Ἀποστ(ό)[λ(ων)].

+ (Seal) of the Hagioi Apostoloi.

Border of dots.

Date:

later XIth –
first half of
the XIIth c.

Commentary:

It is the seal of a monastery or a church of the Holy Apostles. The most popular institution of this kind was the important church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, a place where the reliquaries of the Apostles Andreas, Lukas and Timotheos were venerated, and many emperors buried,¹²⁸ Nothing, however, points towards so specific an identification, if we take into consideration that in the capital there was more than one church dedicated to the Holy Apostles,¹²⁹ not to mention some monasteries across the empire.¹³⁰ We should not forget the monastery τοῦ Δομετίου, which was also called μονὴ τῶν Ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων, on Mt. Athos; two abbots are mentioned in documents of a similar time, Gregorios in 1039 and 1048,¹³¹ and Nikephoros in 1107.¹³²

¹²⁸ Cf. JANIN, *Églises* 41–50.

¹²⁹ JANIN, *Églises* 50–51, no. 2-5.

¹³⁰ Cf. e.g. JANIN, *Centres*, Index 459.

¹³¹ *Actes Pantocrator* 1.21.

¹³² L.c. 2.7 and 29.

3. The Monastery of the Anargyroi of Kosmidion

1. VP-544.



Page 127



Unpublished,
but mentioned in WASSILIOU-
SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 2943a.
The channel of the seal
runs from 11 to 5 h.

Dimensions:
D. 29 mm. H. 4.5 mm.
W. 25.9 g. Poorly print-
ed on the sides.

Find-spot:
Ukraine.

2. VP-1104.



Page 127



Unpublished,
but mentioned in WASSILIOU-
SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 2943a.

Dimensions:
D. 25×26 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 11.2 g. Hit, hole
at the top of the seal.
The channel of the seal
runs from 12 to 7 h.

Find-spot:
v. Yaropovychi, Andrushivka
district, Zhytomyr oblast'.

Exact Analogies:

- a) Fogg 281;
- b) former Zacos collection;
- c) Private collection
(found in Ukraine);
- d) Munich, Staatliche
Münzsammlung
(former coll. Zarnitz);
- e) Leu, Web Auction
9, 8.9.2019, 1358.

Publ.:

- a) *DOSeals* V 39.1a;
LAURENT, *Corpus*
V/2, 1145;
- b) ZACOS II 604;
- c) unpublished;
- d) SEIBT – ZARNITZ 5.3.7;
- a-d) WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2943 a.

Similar seals:

- a) DO 58.106.5590;
- b-c) Hermitage, M-4382
and 5566 (former
Schlumberger coll.).

Publ.:

- a) *DOSeals* V 39.1b;
- b-c) SHANDROVSKAJA,
Pilgrims II 12 and 13, p. 76;
- a-c) WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2943 b-c.

Obv. Half-length figures of St. Kosmas (at l.) and Damianos (at r.), both of them blessing (r. hand) and holding a rotulus (l. hand).¹³³ Inscription on either side: Κ|ΟC|M – Δ|Α|ΜΙ|Α|Ν,. The sign Θ, in this case one for both, was placed in the middle of the seal, but is now lost on both exemplars: [Θ ἄ(γιος)] Κοσμη(ῶς) / [Θ ἄ(γιος)] Δαμιαν(ός): *The saint Kosmas / The saint Damianos.*
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

—+—
CΦΡΑΓ,
ΤΩΝΑΝΑ
ΡΓΥΡΩΝ
ΤΗΚΟΣ
ΜΙΔ,

+ Σφραγ(ίς) τῶν Ἀναργύρων τοῦ
Κοσμιδ(ίου).
+ *Seal of the (monastery) of the Anargy-
roi of Kosmidion.*
Border of dots.

Date:

Xth c.
(perhaps
1034/1075).

Commentary:

A dodecasyllable with the caesura positioned at B7.

The monastery of Kosmidion was probably founded in the VIth century around an older church of the Anargyroi, and refounded in the reign of Michael IV (1034–1041).¹³⁴ The monastery was situated outside the walls of the city, near the Blachernai, on the western side of Eyüp.¹³⁵

¹³³ For this type of the representation of the two Anargyroi (rotuli instead of medical instruments) cf. SEIBT-ZARNITZ, l.c.

¹³⁴ The seal may originate from the time shortly after this restauration and embellishment.

¹³⁵ Cf. JANIN, *Églises* 286–289; MANGO, *Cosmas and Damian* 189–193; *DOSeals* V, p. 82.

Monastery

1. The Monastery(?) of Christos Philanthropos

VP-1006.



2. The Monastery (or a church) of the Hagioi Apostoloi

VP-1564.



3. The Monastery of the Anargyroi of Kosmidion

1. VP-544.



2. VP-1104.



4. (The Monastery) of St. Mamas

VP-1589.

Publ.:ANDROSHCHUK,
Гаральд 53–54.**Dimensions:**D. 22 mm. D₂. 20 mm.
H. 4.5 mm. W. 9.4 g. Hit.
The channel of the seal
runs from 12 to 5 h.**Find-spot:**Bilohorodka village (old Rus'
Bilhorod), Kyiv-Sviatoshyn
district, Kyiv oblast'.

Obv. Bust of the young and beardless St. Mamas. This saint, a young shepherd, was martyred in the reign of Aurelianus in Kaisareia (in 275). He was especially venerated in Kaisareia and Mamasos in Kappadokia. Perhaps he held a cross in his right hand (this part is damaged). We do not know of another seal bearing a figure of St. Mamas.

Inscription: Θ|Μ|Α — Μ|.|. :
Ὁ ἅγιος Μάμ[ας]: Saint Mamas.

Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of three lines:

— . —
+ ΤΘΑΓ,
ΑΡΤ, ΜΑ
Μ . ΝΤ

+ Τ(οῦ) ἁγ(ίου) [μ]άρτ(υρος)
Μάμ[α]ντ(ος).

+ (The Monastery) of St. Martyr
Mamas.

Border of dots.

Date:ca. second
quarter
of the XIth c.**Commentary:**

There were many churches and monasteries of St. Mamas in and around Constantinople.¹³⁶ The most prominent monastery was situated near the Xylokerkos gate (modern Belgradkapı), in the area of the Theodosios harbour, to the east of Psamathion and the nearby Studiou and Peribleptos monasteries. We have the Typikon of Athanasios Philanthropenos for this monastery dated to 1158, and a first *Semeioma* which specifies the monastery's location "immediately opposite the cenobitic nunnery of Aristene and near the venerable monastery of Iasites".¹³⁷ At the end of the Xth century Symeon Neos Theologos was abbot there.¹³⁸ It is said that when Symeon became a shepherd, the monastery was in total decay and no longer used as a religious institution, but rather as a cemetery and place of residence for lay people. A considerable renovation took place under the guidance of Symeon. He cleaned up the church from corpses, covered the church floor in marble and decorated the interior with vessels and holy icons. He also founded a book depository there.¹³⁹ During Arsenios' (Symeon's successor's) time and especially later, the ad-

¹³⁶ Cf. JANIN, *Églises* 314–319.

¹³⁷ Mamas: Typikon of Athanasios Philanthropenos.

¹³⁸ Nicetas Stethatus, *Vita Simeonis Novi Theologici*, ed. I. HAUSHERR. Rome 1928; Zhyzn i podvizhnichestvo izhe vo svyatykh otsa nashogo Simeona Novogo Bogoslava, presvitera i igumena monastyrya svyatogo Mamanta Ksirokerka 22, 30.

¹³⁹ Nicetas Stethatus 34: Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ποιμνίου φροντίδα τῶν λογικῶν προβάτων Χριστοῦ ἀνεδέξατο τῷ χρόνῳ δεκάτῳ ἐσαθρῶθη τὸ μοναστήριον, καὶ οὐχὶ μοναστῶν καταγόνιον ἢ ποιμνιον ἦν, ἀλλὰ κατάλυμα κοσμικῶν καὶ νεκρῶν σωμάτων πολυάνδριον ἐξημερῶν.



ministration of the monastery was taken over by *charistikarioi* whose activity led again to the decay of the institution.¹⁴⁰

On the other hand, we should bear in mind that the Rus' merchants had their place of residence – according to the Byzantine-Rus'ian treaties of 907 and 945 – at the quarter of St. Mamas, apparently named after a church (and monastery) of St. Mamas. In the area there was a harbour, a hippodrome, and also an imperial palace. Additionally we possess an Osman defter dated to 1455.¹⁴¹ There is some discussion about the location of this residence.¹⁴² Sometimes scholars located this quarter in modern Beşiktaş, for instance, Cyrill Mango has suggested that it was located in modern Dolmabahçe.¹⁴³ We think that the seal probably stems from a document or a letter of the abbot of St. Mamas (in the quarter of St. Mamas) to a Rus'ian merchant or kniaz'. We are, however, open to the possibility that the seal had been issued by the institution which was situated in the city, where Symeon Neos Theologos served as abbot at the end of the X – beginning of the XIth century.

A miracle story of St. Nikolaos compiled in the 1090s mentions a special market in Constantinople where the Rus' merchants regularly sold slaves.¹⁴⁴ The above seal was found in Bilhorod, a town which belonged to the knyaz' of Kyiv at the time the seal was struck. The princes were responsible for all military operations and most probably supervised the selling of captives to Byzantium.

¹⁴⁰ *Mamas: Typikon of Athanasios Philanthropenos* 974.

¹⁴¹ Cf. ANDROSHCHUK, Mamant.

¹⁴² It has been argued recently that this monastery was situated in Küçükçekmece (Küçük Çekmece), 30 km to the west of the modern city of Istanbul. See STANISLAWSKI – AYDINGÜN – ÖNİZ, *Stambul/Constantinople*. However, no illustrated evidence concerning the character of the discovered finds has been published yet. The statement that there were some bricks with the name Mamas discovered there (Musin, Mamant 337) appears to be false – see SAYAR, *Ziegelstempel*.

¹⁴³ MANGO, *Bosporos. The European Side*. ODB I 312.

¹⁴⁴ LEONID, *Посмертные чудеса* 25.

VI.
SEALS OF PRIVATEE
INDIVIDUALS

1. Patronymic Seals

1. *Alakasseus Konstantinos*

1. VP-183.



Page 135



Unpublished.

Find-spot:

Bila Tserkva district,
Kyiv oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 26.5×28.5 mm.

D₂. 23 mm. H. 2.5 mm.

W. 12.4 g. The channel of
the seal runs from 12 to 5 h.

2. VP-619.



Page 135



Unpublished.

Find-spot:

tract Buzok, Horodyshche
village, Zboriv district,
Ternopil' oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 29×17 mm. H. 2.5 mm.

W. 6.2 g. Half of seal.

The channel of the seal
runs from 1 to 7 h.

Analogies:

- a) Private collection
of O. Sheremetiev
(found in Sudak, Ukraine);
- b-c) Private collection
(found in Ukraine).

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

+ΑΛΑ
ΚΑΚΣΕΨC
ΗCΦΡΑ

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

ΓΙΚΩΝ
ΦΑΝΤΙ
ΝΟV

Date:

XIIth c.,
second
to fourth
quarter.

Publ.:

- a) АЛ'ОРОВ, Два невідомі;
- b-c) unpublished.

+ Ἀλακασσέως ἡ σφραγὶς
Κωνσταντίνου.

+ *Seal of Konstantinos Alakasseus.*

Border of dots.

Commentary:

The second Sigma of the family name is only flimsy visible, perhaps it was originally not fully cut in the boulloterion. This name is often spelled with a single Sigma. The inscription forms a dodecasyllable with the caesura positioned at B 5.

There is another seal of a Constantine Alakasseus in Dumbarton Oaks, with a bust of St. Theodoros on the obverse.¹⁴⁵ It also bears a dodecasyllabic verse (B 5), reading: Ἀλακα[σ]σέα Κωνστ[αν]τ[ῖ]νόν [με] σκέ[ποις].¹⁴⁶ Just like A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt we date this seal to the second half of the XIIth or early XIIIth c. This Konstantinos is the last Alakasseus we know of. It could be possible to identify the latter with our Konstantinos, but far from certain. From the Palaiologan era there is only mention to an Alakases and an Alakke.¹⁴⁷ The family Alakasseus is well-known as a member of the military aristocracy from the later Xth to the XIIth c.¹⁴⁸ Perhaps the family was of oriental origin.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ DO 58.106.3529.

¹⁴⁶ WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* I 72; we prefer to read the family name with double Sigma because of inner symmetry. The seal was already preliminary noted by JORDANOV, *Corpus* II, p. 45, no. 3.

¹⁴⁷ *PLP* 535f.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* I 72; JORDANOV, *Corpus* II 19. For a problematic seal of a Nikephoros proedros, who could perhaps have been an Alakasseus, see CHEYNET et al, *Istanbul* 5.134; BULGURLU, *Mühürleri* 68. The hypothetical Theodoros proedros Alakareas of LAURENT, *Orghidan* 120, was definitely an Alakasseus.

¹⁴⁹ But cf. also the river Alaca in Southern Italy: CARACASI 22, s. v. Ἀλακος.

2. Armenios(?) Leon

VP-1631.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 21×22 mm. H. 3 mm.

W. 7.5 g. Pressed
on the sides.

Find-spot:

Novaky village, Korosten'
district, Zhytomyr oblast'.



Obv. Bust of a saint bishop, probably
St. Nikolaos.

Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+KER, .
.EΩNT.
IΩAP.
NΩ

+ K(ύρι)ε β[(οή)θ(ει)] [Λ]έ(ο)ντ[ι] τῷ
Ἀρ[μ(έ)]ν(ι)φ(?).

+ *Lord aid Leon Armenios(?)*.

Border of dots.

Date:

Xth c.

Commentary:

The reading of the surname is not certain. It begins with Ar-, but the third letter is lost. It was probably a wide one, perhaps a Mu. After this letter there was probably an abbreviation. It is difficult to decide whether there was an abbreviation between the two letters of the last line. Armenios constitutes a possible name which could simply mean "the Armenian",¹⁵⁰ but similar Armenian names also include Armen or Armenak.

If the missing letter was a Sigma, it would even be possible to read the family name Aristenos: τῷ Ἀρ[(ι)στ(η)]νῷ. If there was a simple Tau instead of Sigma, we would have considered the rare family name Artenos: τῷ Ἀρ[τ(η)]νῷ.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. also the family name Armenopoulos.

Patronymic Seals

1. Alakasseus Konstantinos

1. VP-183.



2. VP-619.



2. Armenios(?) Leon

VP-1631.



3. Basilakios(?) Konstantinos

1. VP-1592.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 15 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 3.7 g. Blank too small for the die. The channel of the seal runs from 2 to 8 h.

Find-spot:

v. Korolivka, Zalizhchyky district, Ternopil' oblast'.

2. VP-1593.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 15 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 3.2 g. Blank too small for the die. Hole at the centre. The channel of the seal runs from 12 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

3. VP-1594.



Unpublished.

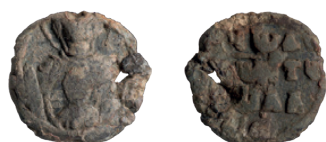
Dimensions:

D. 15 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 3.1 g. Blank too small for the die; corroded. The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

4. VP-1595.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 18×18.5 mm.
D₂. 11.5 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 5.7 g. Blank too small for the die. Hit. The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

5. VP-1596.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 16 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 3.3 g. Blank too small for the die. Hit. The channel of the seal runs from 12 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv district, Chernihiv oblast'.

6. VP-1597.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 15 mm. H. 3 mm. W. 3 g.
Blank too small for the die. Hit. The channel of the seal runs from 10 to 4 h.

Find-spot:

15 km around of Chernihiv, Chernihiv district, Chernihiv oblast'.

Date:
late XIth –
first quarter
of the XIIth c.

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God “of the Sign” (Episkepsis), orans, Christ Emmanuel within an oval medallion; inscription above her hands: **..P – ΘΥ:** [M(ήτ)η]]ρ Θ(εο)ῦ: *Mother of God.*
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΘΚΕΡ .
ΤΩΨΩΔΟ
ΛΟΚΩΝΤΩ
ΡΑΪΛΑ
. ΙΩ

Θ(εοτό)κε β[ο(ή)θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ
δο(ύ)λ(ω) Κων(σταντίνω) τῷ
Βασιλα[κ]ίῳ.
*Mother of God, aid your servant
Konstantinos Basilakios.*
Border of dots.

Analogy:

- a) unknown place;
- b) Private collection
(found in Ukraine);
- c) Private collection,
Ukraine (found
in v. Vovchkiv, Pereiaslav-
Khmel'nyts'kyi d., Kyiv o.).

Publ.:

- a) BULGAKOVA,
Osteuropa 1.5.6;
- b-c) unpublished.

Commentary:

The reading of the family name is not certain but Basilakios seems a plausible solution. This family name is also transcribed as Basilakes.¹⁵¹ Konstantinos was almost one generation younger than the well-known usurper of 1078, Nikephoros Basilakios/Basilakes. He is otherwise unattested in the sources.

In the end of the second line there should have been a Θ but the letter rather looks as a single O. The exact sequence of the letters of the verbum in the first line is unclear, perhaps the original had ΡΟΙΘ.,

The unusually big number of too small seals, at least partially from the Chernihiv oblast', resemble somehow to the synchronous seals of Nikolaos Zounaras.¹⁵²



¹⁵¹ cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* I 1387.

¹⁵² Cf. SEIBT – HULECKI – TIGUNTSEV.

Basilakios(?) Konstantinos

1. VP-1592.



2. VP-1593.



3. VP-1594.



4. VP-1595.



5. VP-1596.



6. VP-1597.



4. Beridares Leon

1. VP-552.



Publ.:

SEIBT, Surnames 93–94, fig. 10.1; WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 2033c.

Dimensions:

D. 15.5 mm. H. 4.5 mm. W. 6.7 g. Blank too small for die. The channel of the seal runs from 2 to 8 h.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

2. VP-581.



Publ.:

SEIBT, Surnames 93–94, fig. 10.2; WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 2033c.

Dimensions:

D. 16.5 mm. H. 4 mm. W. 7.9 g. Blank too small for die. The channel of the seal runs from 2 to 8 h.

Find-spot:

Rokytno district, Kyiv oblast'.

Analogy:

a) Private collection of K.Smychkov, Ukraine (found in Obukhiv d., Kyiv o.).

Unpublished.

Parallel:

DO 58.106.5273.

Obv. Bust of St. Nikolaos with the usual round, short curled beard, the right hand blessing, the left holds the Gospels book. Inscription: . |NI|KO – Λ|Α|Ο; [Ο ἅγιος] Νικόλαος: *Saint Nikolaos*.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

±
ΣΚΕΠΟΙΣ
ΛΕΟΝΤΑ
· ΟΝΡΕΠΙ
· ΔΡΗΜΔ
...

Date:

end of the Xth – first third of the XIIth c.

+ Σκέποις Λέοντα [τ]ὸν Βερι[δ]άρην, μά[καρ].

+ *Blessed (scil. St. Nikolaos), you should protect Leon Beridares.*

Border of dots.

Commentary:

Many seals survive from Leon Beridares and can be grouped to four different boulloteria.¹⁵³ This Leon Beridares is probably identical with a Beridares proedros featured on a quite similar type of seal (3 bullae) with the metrical legend: Σκέποις πρόεδρον τὸν Βεριδάρην, μάκαρ.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ Cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 2033

¹⁵⁴ Cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 2190. For the Beridares family and the etymology of their name (from Latin *veredarius*, “courier”) cf. also WASSILIOU – ZARNITZ, *Fünf unedierte* 80–82; ŠANDROVSKAJA – SEIBT 47.

Beridares Leon

1. VP-552.



2. VP-581.



5. Boulíkopoulos (or Koulikopoulos?) Gregorios

VP-492.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 18.5×20 mm. D₂. 14 mm.
H. 3 mm. W. 8.6 g. Poorly
printed on the sides. Hit.
The channel of the seal
runs from 1 to 7 h.



Page 146

Find-spot:

Nehrashi village,
Kyiv-Sviatoshyn dis-
trict, Kyiv oblast'.

Obv. Bust of a saint bishop, proba-
bly St. Nikolaos. Inscription perhaps:
Θ|Ν: Ὁ ἄγιος Ν[ικόλ(αος)]:
Saint Nikolaos.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of three lines, probably
preceded by a cross between horizon-
tal bars and followed by a pearl be-
tween horizontal bars:

Date:
XIth century,
c. second
half.

. ΡΗΓΟΡ,
. . . . ΘΛΗ
. . ΠΘΛ,

[Γ]ρηγορ(ίω)
[τῷ Β]ουλ(ι)[κο]πούλ(ω)
or [τῷ Κ]ουλ(ι)[κο]πούλ(ω).
(For) Gregorios Boulíkopoulos
(or Koulikopoulos).

Border of dots.

Commentary:

The reading of the surname is not certain. The first preserved letter may also be V. We propose R or K as the initial letter of the surname. Both surnames are otherwise unattested in the sources of the period. Boulikas, however, is not an unknown surname in Byzantium¹⁵⁵ and the alternative, Koulikopoulos, may have derived from *koulik*, a word of Slavic etymology.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Cf. ŠANDROVSKAJA – SEIBT 53.

¹⁵⁶ Kulik is a little bird, and a popular surname in Ukraine.

6. *Brachames Theodoros*

VP-630.

Publ.:

SEIBT, Surnames
93 with fig. 9.

Dimensions:

D. 15.5 mm. H. 2.5 mm.
W. 3.6 g. The channel
of the seal runs from
1 to 7 h. Corroded.

Find-spot:

Ternopil' oblast'.



Page 146

Obv. Standing figure of St. Theodore, probably holding a lance and a shield. Only traces of the inscription are visible: [Ο ἄ(γ)ιος Θεόδωρ(ος)]: *Saint Theodoros*.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+KER,Θ,
ΘΕΟΔΩΡ,
. . RPAX
. MIN

Date:

Last third of
the XIth or
early XIIth.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Θεόδωρ(ον)
[τ(ὸ)ν] Βραχ[ά]μιν.

+ *Lord aid Theodoros Brachames*.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

This Theodoros Brachames was probably a younger relative of the renowned Armenian Philaretos Brachamios, who played a prominent role on the eastern Byzantine front, esp. from 1078–1086 as domestikos of the East.¹⁵⁷ The family name Bachramios/Brachamios or Bachrames/Brachames is the Greek transcription of the Armenian name Vahram. Theodoros was probably a military officer.

¹⁵⁷ SEIBT, Philaretos Brachamios 281–295.

7. Chliarenos Konstantinos

VP-31.

*Unpublished.**Dimensions:*

D. 25×25.5 mm. D₂. 20 mm.
H. 2.5 mm. W. 8.5 g.

Find-spot:

Zhytomyr oblast'.

Parallels:

- a) Former Zacos' collection.
- b) Coll. Panteleev.

Publ.

- a) unpublished;
- b) JORDANOV, Corpus III, 2660 (erroneous).



Obv. Bust of the Mother of God "of the Sign" (Episkepsis), orans, Christ Emmanuel within an oval medallion; inscription above her hands: **ΜΡ — ΘΥ**: Μ(ήτ)ηρ Θ(εο)ῦ: *Mother of God.*
Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of five lines, preceded by a cross with a relatively long horizontal bar:

+
ΤΟΝΧΛΙ
ΑΡΗΝΟΝΜΕ
ΣΚΕΠΟΙΣ
ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝ
ΤΙΝΟΝ·

+ Τὸν Χλιαρηνόν με σκέποις
Κωνσταντῖνον.
+ (*Mother of God*), *protect me, Konstantinos Chliarenos.*
Border of dots.



Page 147

Date:
middle of
the XIIth c.

Commentary:

Dodecasyllable (B 5). Maybe Konstantinos Chliarenos was Konstantinos IV, the future patriarch of Constantinople (November 1154 – May 1157). Although no seal of him as patriarch is extant and we know very little about him before his assumption of the post, most probably, the seal belonged to the same individual before he became patriarch.

In the Fogg coll. there is the seal of a Niketas Chliarenos, with the legend: Σφραγ(ι)ς Νικήτα / τῷ Χληαρινῷ (2nd half of the XIIth century). A prosagma of March 24, 1211, mentions a πανσέβαστος σεβαστὸς Μιχαὴλ Χλιαρηνός.¹⁵⁸

Ἀν Χλιαρηνὸς Ἰωάννης was living in the region of Smyrna in 1276,¹⁵⁹ while a Konstantinos Chliarinos or Chlierenos was a priest in Sdrabikion/ Strymon in 1321¹⁶⁰ and yet another (?) one Konstantinos Chlierenos was a paroikos near Serrai in 1345.¹⁶¹

Plutarch mentions Χλιαρός as an old name for the river Ganges, but this rare family name, Chliarenos, probably derives from the Greek word χλιαρός (warm, lukewarm).

¹⁵⁸ GASTGEBER — KRESTEN, *Chartular* 52, 3-5. This document was erroneously dated in former editions.

¹⁵⁹ *MM* IV 173; cf. *PLP* 30862.

¹⁶⁰ *PLP* 30864.

¹⁶¹ *PLP* 30863.

8. Gialites Georgios

VP-1582.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**

D. 21.5×20.5 mm.
H. 2.5 mm. W. 6 g. The
channel of the seal runs
from 3 to 9 h. Poorly printed
on the sides. Corroded.

Find-spot:

Antoniv village, Skvyra
district, Kyiv oblast'.



Obv. Patriarchal cross with fleurons arising from base (up to the lower arm), perhaps above a globe. The lower horizontal bar is additionally crossed. There are some similarities to the anonymous folles of class H and I, dated by Ph. Grierson to the 70s of the XIth century.¹⁶² Circular Inscription: . . ΕΒΟΗ . . . Δ . . . : [+Κ(ύρι)]ε βοή[θει τῷ σῷ] δ[ούλω]: Lord aid Your servant.

No visible border.



Rev. Inscription of (originally) four lines:

ΩΡΓΙΩ
ΓΙΑΛΗ
•ΙΗ•

[+ Γε]ωργίω Γιαλ(ι)τη.
+ Georgios Gialites (from Jalta).

No visible border.



Page 147

Date:

XIth cen-
tury, ca.
1060/1080.

Commentary:

Since Jalta (Γιαλίτα or Ίαλίτα) was not a bishopric in the period the seal was struck, Gialites is a surname indicating the provenance of George. In the XIVth century Jalta is indicated as πατριαρχική χώρα being sometimes contested between the metropolitans of Gotthia and of Cherson.¹⁶³

This seal is probably the earliest mention of Yalta in Greek sources.

¹⁶² DOC III/2, p. 694–699.

¹⁶³ Cf. MM I 577, 11 (1371); II 68, 14 (1384), 75, 1 (1386), 249, 27 (1395).

Boulikopoulos (or Koulikopoulos?) Gregorios

VP-492.



Brachames Theodoros

VP-630.



Chliarenos Konstantinos

VP-31.



Gialites Georgios

VP-1582.



9. Hikanatos Ioannes or Andreas

1. VP-58.



Referred:
WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr.*
Corpus II 1645.

Dimensions:
D. 14 mm. D₂. 10 mm.
H. 2 mm. W. 2.5 g. Pressed
on the sides. The channel of
the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:
Ternopil' oblast'.

2. VP-395.



Referred:
WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr.*
Corpus II 1645.

Dimensions:
D. 16 mm. D₂. 10 mm.
H. 2.5 mm. W. 3 g. Pressed
on the sides. The channel of
the seal runs from 11 to 7 h.

Find-spot:
near Rivne, Rivne
district, Rivne oblast'.

3. VP-438.



Referred:
WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr.*
Corpus II 1645.

Dimensions:
D. 17×16 mm. D₂. 10 mm.
H. 2.5 mm. W. 4 g. Pressed
on the sides. The channel of
the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:
Peresopnytsya, Rivne
district, Rivne oblast'.

4. VP-1622.



Referred:
WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr.*
Corpus II 1645.

Dimensions:
D. 16×18 mm. D₂. 10 mm.
H. 3 mm. W. 5 g.
Pressed on the sides.

Find-spot:
Rivne oblast'.

5. VP-1623.



Referred:
Wassiliou-Seibt, *Metr.*
Corpus II 1645.

Dimensions:
D. 17 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 4.8 g. Pressed on the
sides. The channel of the
seal runs from 12 to 5 h.

Find-spot:
Rivne oblast'.

6. VP-1624.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:
D. 19.5 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 4.3 g. Poorly printed on
the sides. The channel of
the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:
Hrushvytsia Druha village,
Rivne district, Rivne
oblast'. Together were
found: second seal of
Hikonates (blank too big
for the die) and a seal
of Davyd Ihorovych.

Date:
XIth / XIIth c.

Obv. Bust of St. Ioannes Prodromos or St. Andreas blessing (r. hand) and holding a long cross (l. hand). In former publications the saint was interpreted as St. Ioannes Prodromos, but it could well be the apostle Andreas. Till now it was not possible to identify the inscription. The craftsmanship is relatively poor.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+
ΟΜΩΝ
ΜΟΝΜΟΙ
ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ
.. VIKAN
ΑΤΟΝ

+ Ὁμωνύμου μοι σφραγίς [τοῦ] ἱκανάτου.

+ (I [scil. the saint] am the) seal of Hikanatos who has the same name like me.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

The reading of τοῦ in front of the name in l. 4 is not certain, but it is plausible. Former propositions of reading the word σφράγισμα are anyway less likely since they are not corroborated by the traces of the seal's letters.

The astonishing large number of seals of this Hikanatos (all from the Rus', not a single one from Byzantine territory) points to this person's considerable activity in the Rus', esp. in the Rivne oblast'. It could well be that this man (or his father) had been an officer from the Rus' in the tagma of the Hikanatoi for some time.¹⁶⁴ Be that as it may, he would not have been a member of the prominent Byzantine family of the Hikanatoi.¹⁶⁵ In the Dumbarton Oaks collection there is a Byzantine seal of an Ioannes Hikanatos (again without title or office) from the second half of the XIth century with a bust of the Theotokos Episkepsis on the obverse,¹⁶⁶ though of a totally different type.

Analogy:

- unknown (from Kyiv, former Likhachev coll.);
- Novgorod Historical and Architectural Museum (from Velikij Novgorod);
- Private collection of K. Smychkov (from Mlyniv district, Rivne oblast');
- Private collection of O. Alf'orov (SCOA, VP-4, from Rivne district);
- Private collection of E. Chernets'kyi (from Buky, Skvyra district, Kyiv oblast');
- Private collection (found in v. Hrushvytsia Druha, Rivne d., Rivne o.);
- Private collection of K. Smychkov (from Pereyaslav-Khmelnyts'ky district, Kyiv oblast');
- Novgorod Archaeological Expedition;
- Private collection of O. Alf'orov (found in c. Radyvyliv, Radyvyliv d., Rivne o.). And there were more seals in the internet.

Publ.:

- BULGAKOVA, *Osteuropa* 1.5.4a;
- BULGAKOVA, *Osteuropa* 1.5.4b;
- СМУЧКОВ, Несколько моливдовулов 337–338;
- ALF'OROV, Иконат 2;
- ALF'OROV, Иконат 1;
- f-g) unpublished;
- h-l) ISAEV – GAIDUKOV – OLEINIKOV, Великий Новгород group 1;
- m) unpublished.

Page 150-151



¹⁶⁴ During the XIth century this tagma lost its former importance and disappeared from the sources. Cf. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, *Listes* 332.

¹⁶⁵ For this family cf. WASSILOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* I 966.

¹⁶⁶ DO 55.1.3057.

Hikanatos Ioannes or Andreas

1. VP-58.



2. VP-395.



3. VP-438.



4. VP-1622.



5. VP-1623.



6. VP-1624.



10. Kalophoros Niketas

VP-1235.

Ed.:

WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr.*
Corpus II 2298.

Dimensions:

D. 18.5 mm. H. 2.5 mm.
W. 4.9 g. Blank too small for
the die, poorly printed on
the sides. The channel of the
seal runs from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

v. Biliv (near old Rus'
Peresopnytsia city), Rivne
district, Rivne oblast'.

Analogies:

- a-d) Private collection (found
in Chernihiv oblast');
- e) Private collection (found
in Vladimir oblast', RF);
- f) Private collection
of Maksym Makarchuk
(Rivne: found
in Dorohobuzh).

Unpublished.



Page 156

Obv. Standing figure of St. Niketas with a shield (l. hand) and a spear (r. hand). The rich, curled hairdress falls down to the shoulders¹⁶⁷. Inscription: Ο|Α|Γ|Ι|Ο, – Ν|Ι|ΚΗ|ΤΑ:
Ὁ ἅγιος Νικήτα(ς): St. Niketas.

No visible border.

Rev. Inscription of five lines, preceded by a cross with a long horizontal bar:

+
CYNΩNΩ
ΜΟΝCKE
ΠΟΙCME
CΟΝΚΑΛΟ
ΦΟΡΟ .

+ Συνώνυμον σκέποις με σὸν
Καλοφόρο[v].

+ You (scil. St. Niketas) should protect
your synonymous Kalophoros.

Border of dots.

Date:
XIIth c., per-
haps second
to third
quarter.

Commentary:

A dodecasyllable (B 7). The inscription features asymmetrical letters, as some are too massive (e.g. Kappa in l. 2, Mu in l. 3), and others quite reduced (Omikra).

A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt had only a modest photo of our seal at her disposition when she studied it, and no information about the other seals. She transcribed μ(οι) instead of με after the verbum and proposed Καλιγάρην as the family name. The name Kalophoros is very rare, but we know of a metropolitan of Smyrna who bore this family name and abdicated from his office in 1260.¹⁶⁸ Quite similar is the name Καλόφερος.¹⁶⁹ It cannot be excluded that our man was called Kalophoros, but used the other form *metri causa* (to produce a penultimate ending).

¹⁶⁷ A similar, but better preserved bust of St. Niketas the Goth in CHEYNET, *Société* 576.

¹⁶⁸ *PLP* 10735.

¹⁶⁹ *PLP* 10730–10733.

11. Kerames Konstantinos

1. VP-582.

**Publ.:**

SEIBT, Surnames 85–86, fig. 1.

Dimensions:

D. 18 mm. H. 2.5 mm.
W. 4.6 g. Blank too small for the die. The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

in the vicinity of Kyiv.

2. VP-689.

**Publ.:**

SEIBT, Surnames 85–86, fig. 2.

Dimensions:

D. 20×16.5 mm. H. 2.5 mm.
W. 5.3 g. Blank too small for the die. Half of the seal. The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Shums'k city, Shums'k district, Ternopil oblast'.

3. VP-714.

**Publ.:**

SEIBT, Surnames 86, fig. 3.

Dimensions:

D. 18.5×18 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 3.4 g. Blank too small for the die. The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Shums'k city, Shums'k district, Ternopil oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) Novgorod Historical and Architectural Museum, no. KP 4100 (found in Novgorod);
b) Privat collection of K. Smychkov (Bilovods'k, Ukraine).

Publ.:

- a) ЯНИН, Актовые печати I 363;
b) СМΥСΗΚΟΝ, Несколько моливдовулов 332–334.

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God “Episkepsis”, with a relatively small, round medallion with the bust of Christ. Inscription above her hands: ΜΡ – Θ̅.: Μ(ή)τηρ Θ(εο)[υ̅]: *Mother of God.*

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of three lines with big letters:

ΚΩΝ
· ΚΕΡΑ
ΜΗC

Κων(σταντῖνος) [ὁ] Κεράμης.
Konstantinos Kerames.

Border of dots.**Date:**

late XIth –
first half of
the XIIth c.

Commentary:

While we know of several similar surnames, i.e. Keramas, Kerameas, Kerameus, Kerameres, etc., the family name Kerames is otherwise unattested in the sources. Etymologically all these names derive from the Greek word κέραμος (“potter’s earth, potter’s clay, pottery”). As there are five seals found in the Rus’ and not a single one elsewhere, we may assume that this person was active in this region (as a merchant or an entrepreneur).



12. Pagomenos(?) Pankratios

VP-1216.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 31 mm. D₂. 26 mm.

H. 5 mm. W. 31.2 g.

Hit with a sharp object.

The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Brovary district, Kyiv oblast'.



Page 157

Obv. Standing figure of St. Georgios, his left hand leans on an ornamented shield with a shield-boss, and his right bears a lance. Inscription on either side:
Ο|Α|Γ|Ι|Ο|C – Γ|Ε|Ω|Ρ|Γ|Ι|Ο|C;
Ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος(ς): *Saint Georgios.*

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΚΕ̅...
ΤΩCΩ̅...
ΠΑΝΚ...Η
ΩΤΩ...
ΜΕ̅...

+ Κ(ύρι)ε [β(οή)θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ
[δού(λῳ)] Πανκ[ρατ](ί)ῳ τῷ
[Παγο]μέ[νῳ] (?).
+ *Lord aid your servant Pankratios*
Pagomenos(?).

Border of dots.

Date:

second half
of the XIth
or early
XIIth c.

Commentary:

One can most probably discern the letters ΔΘ, or Δ,Λ, in the second line.

The name Pankratios (normally Παγκράτιος) is the Greek equivalent of the Armenian and Georgian Bagrat. Perhaps our man inherited it from his maternal grandfather.

The reading of the family name is problematic, since some letters are lost and some others scrawled. The first letter is badly damaged; at first glance it resembles a Tau, but could also be a Pi. The last letter in l. 4 might also be a Rho or an Omikron. The first letter in l. 5 seems to be a Mu but Nu cannot be excluded either. The next letter is an Epsilon and traces of the following one suggest it could have been a Nu. After that only one letter is missing. If the first letter is interpreted as a Pi, Pagomenos constitutes a plausible reading since this name is well-known since the XIth century.¹⁷⁰ For possible names starting with Tau the *PLP* lists only a person named Τειχομενός¹⁷¹ and another called Τυχομενός.¹⁷² If Pankratios came from Sicily, a probable alternative would have been the name Ταυρ(ο)μεν(ι)τ(ης).

¹⁷⁰ Cf. e.g. STAVRAKOS 192–193.

¹⁷¹ *PLP* XI 27549.

¹⁷² *PLP* XII 29429.

13. Phardos(?) Theodoros

VP-1653.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**

D. 18.5×19.5 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 5.6 g. Blank too small
for the die. Corroded.
The channel of the seal
runs from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

Komariv village, Vinnytsia
district, Vinnytsia oblast'.



Page 157

Obv. Bust of a saint warrior with a
spear (r. hand) and a shield. Probably
St. Theodoros.

No visible border.

Rev. Inscription of (originally) four lines:

Date:

ca. second
half of the
XIth c.

..ΘΕΟΔ
ΦΑΡΔ
Ω

[+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει)] Θεοδ[(ώ)ρ(ω)]

Φάρδω(?).

+ Lord, help Theodoros Phardos(?).

Border of dots.

Commentary:

We prefer Theodoros as first name, with Leon being another possibility. The surname is certainly quite rare, it seems to begin with ΦΑΡΔ (or even ΦΑΡΑ), and the last letter is probably an Omega, perhaps between horizontal bars. The *PLP* records the following names beginning with Φαρδ-: Φάρδην, Φαρδής, Φαρδιβούκης, Φαρδίστομος, Φαρδιστόμου, while it also lists some others, beginning with Φαρα-.¹⁷³ The name Phardos could derive from the Arabic word *fard* ("single, unique, solitary").¹⁷⁴

The Athenian seal of a synkellos Theodoros records a surname beginning with Phar[...], but perhaps the most plausible reading should be Pharisaios¹⁷⁵.

¹⁷³ Cf. *PLP*, Abkürzungsverzeichnis 362.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. *EI* II 808–809. For the Arabic name Farid cf. *AHMED* 49.

¹⁷⁵ *KOLTSIDA-MAKRI* 432; cf. the review of W. SEIBT, *BZ* 91 (1998) 149.

Kalophoros Niketas

VP-1235.



Kerames Konstantinos

1. VP-582.



2. VP-689.



3. VP-714.



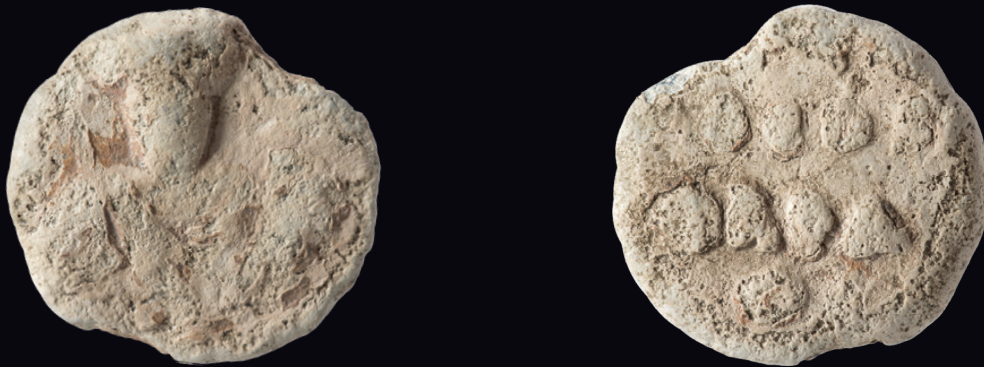
Pagomenos(?) Pankratios

VP-1216.



Phardos(?) Theodoros

VP-1653.



14. Spondyles

1. VP-631.



Publ.:
SEIBT, Surnames 83–85,
fig.1; WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2387.

Dimensions:
D. 25.5×24.5 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 11.1 g. Blank too small
for the die. The channel of
the seal runs from 1 to 5 h.

Find-spot:
Horodyshe village
(old Rus' city Bykoven),
Zboriv district,
Ternopil' oblast'.

2. VP-636.



Publ.:
SEIBT, Surnames 83–85,
fig. 2; WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2387.

Dimensions:
D. 24×22.5 mm. H. 4.5 mm.
W. 12 g. Blank too small for
the die. The channel of the
seal runs from 11 to 7 h.

Find-spot:
Pidhirtsi village (old Rus'
Plisnens'k), Brody district,
Lviv oblast'.

3. VP-639.



Publ.:
SEIBT, Surnames 83–85,
fig. 3; WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2387.

Dimensions:
D. 22×23 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 11.1 g. Blank too small
for the die. The channel of
the seal runs from 1 to 5 h.

Find-spot:
Pidhirtsi village (old Rus'
Plisnens'k), Brody district,
Lviv oblast'.

4. VP-640.



Publ.:
SEIBT, Surnames 83–85,
fig. 4; WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2387.

Dimensions:
D. 20.5×24 mm.
H. 3.5 mm. W. 9.8 g.
Blank too small for the die.

Find-spot:
Pidhirtsi village (old Rus'
Plisnens'k), Brody
district, Lviv oblast'.

5. VP-654.



Publ.:
SEIBT, Surnames 83–85,
fig. 5; WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2387.

Dimensions:
D. 20×19 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 7.2 g. Blank too small for
the die. The channel of the
seal runs from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:
Zvenyhorod village,
Pustomyty district,
Lviv' oblast'.

6. VP-693.



Publ.:
SEIBT, Surnames 83–85,
fig. 6; WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2387.

Dimensions:
D. 21 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 8 g. Blank too small
for the die, half missing.

Find-spot:
Shums'k city, Shums'k
district, Ternopil' oblast'.

7. VP-1149.

**Publ.:**

SEIBT, Surnames 83–85,
fig. 7; WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2387.

Dimensions:

D. 21 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 7.9 g. Blank too small
for die. The channel of the
seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

Date:

last third
XIth – early
XIIth c.

Obv. Bust of St. Basileios with the usual long beard; the right hand is blessing, the left is holding the Book of the Gospels. On either side the inscription: Θ|ΡΑ|CΙ – Λ|ΕΙ|Ο: Ο ἄ(γιος) Βασίλειος: *Saint Basileios*.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

• + •
CΦΡΑΓ,
ΓΡΑΦΑΣ
ΠΙCΤΥCΑ
ΤΑCΤΥCΠ,
ΔΥΛΗ
— x —

+ Σφραγ(ις) γραφὰς πιστοῦσα τὰς τοῦ
Σπ(ον)δύλη.

+The seal ratifies the letters (or writings)
of Spondyles.

Border of dots.

Analogies:

- a-d) Private collection
(found in Ukraine);
- e) Private collection
of K. Smychkov
(found in Nadchitsy v.,
Mlyniv d., Rivne o.);
- f) Private collection
of O. Alf'orov
(found in Chernihiv
d., Chernihiv o.).

Unpublished.

Commentary:

There are more metrical seals legends starting with Σφραγὶς γραφὰς πιστοῦσα.¹⁷⁶ The only issue in our interpretation is the unusual omission of “on” in the middle of the family name, but our reading seems the most probable. The legend does not disclose the Christian name, but the saint on the obverse could be a hint to Basileios.

The valuable article of John Nesbitt in *Hypermachos* lists only one Basileios Spondyles, a protospatharios.¹⁷⁷ This is a Viennese seal which W. Seibt had dated to the XIII century because of the unusual paleography of the letters.¹⁷⁸ Along with John Nesbitt the author now prefers an eleventh-century dating. The new type of seal dates from the last third of the XIth or early XIIth century. Some of these seals were found in the principality of Volodar Rostyslavych with his seat centered around Zvenyhorod. In 1104 Volodar's daughter married a Byzantine aristocrat.¹⁷⁹ It is possible that the latter was a Spondyles, either the owner of the above seals or perhaps his son.¹⁸⁰

Page 160-161



¹⁷⁶ Cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 2386, 2388.

¹⁷⁷ NESBITT, *Spondyles* 254.

¹⁷⁸ SEIBT, *Österreich* I 304–305, no. 163.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. KAZHDAN, *Marriages* 419–420, 429. The note in the *Chronicle* (PSRL I 280; PRSL II 256) that the daughter of Volodar' married a son of the emperor Alexios I, is an exaggeration.

¹⁸⁰ This hypothesis of Fedir Androshchuk seems attractive.

Spondyles

1. VP-631.



2. VP-636.



3. VP-639.



VP-1149



VP-640.



VP-654.



VP-693.



15. Tzanzes Niketas

1. VP-655.



Publ.:
SEIBT, *Sunames* 86–87 with
fig. 3; WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2138.

Dimensions:
D. 26×25 mm. D₂. 21.5 mm.
H. 2 mm. W. 7.8 g. Pressed
on the sides; bent.

Find-spot:
Ukraine.

2. VP-1613.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:
D. 25×19 mm.
D₂. 20 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 5.8 g. Half of seal.

Find-spot:
Bilohorodka village,
Kyiv-Sviatoshyn dis-
trict, Kyiv oblast'.

Analogy:
Private collection of
K. Smychkov (from
Kyiv o.; half of the seal).

Unpublished.

Obv. Standing figure of St. Nikolaos;
though it is flattened, we can assume
that his right hand was raised in bless-
ing, and his left hand held the Book of
the Gospels. On the right side one can
still discern: Λ|ΑΟ|C:
[Ο ἄγιος Νικό]λαος: *Saint Nikolaos*.
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines, preced-
ed and followed by four dots in cross-
form:

Date:
late XIth –
first quarter
XIIth c.

⋄
⋄
ΣΚΕΠ . . .
ΝΙΚΗΤΑ .
ΤΟΝ ΤΖΑΝΖ
ΙΕΡΑΡΧΑ
⋄
⋄

+ Σκέπ[οις] Νικήτα[ν] τὸν Τζάνζ(ην),
ιεράρχα.
+ *Bishop, protect Niketas Tzanzes*.
Border of dots.

Commentary:

In metrical legends, St. Nikolaos is often addressed as μάκαρ or ιεράρχα. The parallel piece in the coll. of K. Smychkov (perhaps the second half of our no. 2!) contributes to the reconstruction of the damaged parts of our seal.

The family name Tzantzes or Tzanzes or Zanzes is well-known,¹⁸¹ and perhaps there is a (slightly earlier) seal of a Niketas in the American Numismatic Society.¹⁸² On the obverse, it depicts a standing figure of the Theotokos Hagiosoritissa with the invocation, and on the reverse a standing figure of St. Nikolaos, with the partially destroyed inscription NIK...ΤΩΤΖΑΝΖΗ. It is difficult to decide whether the NIK denotes Niketas or Nikolaos Patrikios.

¹⁸¹ Cf. e. g. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 2138.

¹⁸² ANS: 1944.100.84815.

1. VP-655.



2. VP-1613.



2. Seals with individual names only

1. Bouges (Mpouges)

1. VP-1566.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 18.5 mm. H. 3 mm.

W. 5.8 g.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.

2. VP-1567.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 17.5 mm. H. 4.5 mm.

W. 9.1 g. Rev. struck

off-center.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.

Obv. Probably bust of the Apostle Petros bearing a long cross (l. hand). Vertical inscriptions: ☉ | . . – I' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) [Πέ]τρ(ος)]; *Saint Petros*.
No visible border.

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

+
ΚΕΡ'Θ
ΜΠΟΝ
ΓΗ

Date:

second half

XIth – first

quarter

XIIth c.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Μπουγῆ.

+ *Lord aid Bouges (Mpouges)*.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

The first letter is damaged in the reverse legend, so instead of ΚΕ, ΧΕ would also be an acceptable reading. On either side of the last line there is an oblique bar.

Names like Bogas/Boges/Mpougas/Mpouges/Pougas derive from the Turkish word Boya.¹⁸³ With the proposed reading our seal constitutes one of the earliest examples of the transcription of the Latin “B” with the Greek μπ. Bouges was probably a chieftain of a Pecheneg, Uz, or Seljuq tribe.

¹⁸³ Cf. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica* II 92, s.v. Boyā; 97, s.v. Βουγά.

1. VP-1566.



2. VP-1567.



2. Ioannes

VP-1049.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 20.5×22.5 mm.
D₂. 13 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 5.9 g. Two thirds of seal, hit. The channel of the seal runs from 12 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Brusyliv city, Brusyliv district, Zhytomyr oblast'.



Obv. Bust of the Mother of God (Blachernitissa type); remains of inscription above her right hand: $\overline{\text{M}}$: $\text{M}(\eta\tau\eta)[\rho \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\tilde{\upsilon}]$: *Mother of God*.
Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of five lines:

.....
... $\overline{\text{A}}$ ΓΗ
ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝ
ΜΟΝCKE
ΠΟΙC

At the end we read $\text{Χαριτών}(\upsilon)\mu\omicron\nu\sigma\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma$. The word above is probably $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\eta$ or even $\pi\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\eta$. The legend was metrical, a dodecasyllable. We do not know whether the legend started with a family name, a title, an office, or merely an expression of worship. Charitonimos is a usual metonymy for Ioannes.

Border of dots.



Page 170

Date:

second half
XIth – early
XIIth c.

3. Kontoleon(?)

VP-1612.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**

D. 30×15 mm. H. 2.5 mm.
W. 6.6 g. Half of seal,
corroded. Hole.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.

As we are dealing with one half of a broken seal which is badly pressed, we can only offer an initial hypothetical description. No parallel or similar seals are known.



Page 170

Obv. Perhaps an enthroned figure of Christ. On the right side there are four letters in a visible vertical line, perhaps **K|I|T|H** for [Ι(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ)ς ὁ Χαλκίτης(ς): *Jesus Christ Chalkites*. For Christ Chalkites see also a seal type of the emperor John III Doukas Batatzes.¹⁸⁴

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

.....
KONT....
CON....
NA..

If the inscription formed a dodecasyllable, an initial hypothetical reconstruction could be the following:

[+ Σκέπ(οις)] Κοντο[λέοντα] σὸν
[λάτρ(ιν) or δοῦλ(ον), Ἄ]να[ξ].
+ *Protect your servant Kontoleon, Lord.*

Border of dots.

Date:

end of
XIIth–XIIIth c.

Commentary:

Anax probably is an address to Christ. Kontoleon is a rare name, but documented both as a first and a family name.

¹⁸⁴ ZACOS — VEGLERY 117.

4. Konstantinos

VP-1646.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 16 mm. D₂. 11 mm.

H. 3.5 mm. W. 5.8 g.

The canal runs
from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Boryspil' city, Boryspil'
district, Kyiv oblast'.



Page 170

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

+
ΓΡΑΦ,
ΣΦΡΑ
ΓΙΣΩ

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

ΚΑΙΛΟ
ΓΟΝΣ
ΚΩΝ

+ Γραφᾶς σφραγίζω καὶ λόγους
Κωνσταντίνου.

+ *I seal the scripts and words (or deci-
sions) of Konstantinos.*

Border of dots.

Date:

second half
XIth – early
XIIth c.

Commentary:

This is a common verse featuring in various types of seals, sometimes with the Theotokos or a saint on the obverse, sometimes – like here – only with script on both sides of the seal. We are not aware of an exact parallel, but the obverse is quite similar to DO Neg.nr. 59.130.5-2942b as well as DO 58.106.4096, and the reverse to DO 58.106.1969, 5181 and DO Neg.nr. 59.130.5-2942a.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ Cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* I 390 l.

5. Konstantinos

VP-718.

*Unpublished.**Dimensions:*D. 40×42 mm. D₂: 21.5 mm.

H. 3 mm. W. 23.6 g.

Without the channel.

Rectangular shape.

*Find-spot:*Trubizh River, Rusaniv village,
Brovary district, Kyiv oblast'.*Analogies:*

Former Zacos coll.

Publ.:

Zacos II 408.



Page 171

Obv. Four warrior saints standing in a row. The first is nearly lost, the second holds a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand), the third probably bears a sword (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand), and the fourth holds a sword (r. hand) as well as a sheath or a shield. Perhaps there are the two Theodoroi in the centre and Demetrios and Georgios on the margins. Some indistinct letters are preserved, perhaps above the third saint: Θ .ΕΟΔ: Ο ἅγιος [Θ]εόδωρος[ος]: St. Theodoros.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines (most of the letters are damaged, but can be read with the help of the parallel piece):

Date:

last third

XIth – early

XIIth c.

+
ΤΕΤΡΑ .
ΑΘΛΗΤΩΝ
ΦΥΛΑΚΕΣ
.ΩΝCΤ..
.Ι...

+ Τετρα[ς] ἀθλητῶν φύλακες
[Κ]ωνσταντ[ίνου].

+ The community of four martyrs are
(or: should be) the guardians of Konstan-
tinos.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

A dodecasyllable (B 5). Although we are aware of seals bearing invocations to a δυνάς of saints,¹⁸⁶ we do not know of any other parallel examples of seals with invocation to four saints.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* I 669–672.

Ioannes

VP-1049.



Kontoleon (?)

VP-1612.



Konstantinos

VP-1646.



Konstantinos

VP-718.



6. Michael

VP-45.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 17×19 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 4.4 g. Blank too small
for the die. The channel of
the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.



Page 176

Find-spot:

Sumy or Chernihiv oblast'.

Obv. Bust of St. Michael vested in the imperial loros, holding a long scepter (r. hand) and a globus without a cross (l. hand).

No visible border.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

. KERO
. ΘΕΙΤΩ
. ΨΔΘΛΩ
. ΙΧΑΗ .

Date:

XIth c.
(second or
third third).

[+] Κ(ύρι)ε βο[ή]θει τῷ [σ]ῷ δούλῳ
[Μ]ιχαή[λ].

+ Lord aid your servant Michael.

No visible border.

Commentary:

The name is badly damaged, but Michael seems to be a proper restitution. A quite similar seal was published by Koltsida-Makre,¹⁸⁷ albeit erroneously interpreted.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ KOLTSIDA-MAKRE 372.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. review of SEIBT – WASSILIOU, BZ 91 (1998) 149.

7. Niketas

VP-1204.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 15 mm. H. 4.5 mm.
W. 6.7 g. Blank too small
for the die. The channel of
the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

forest of Obukhiv, Obukhiv
district, Kyiv oblast'.



Page 177

Obv. Bust of St. Niketas holding a
spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).
The rich, curled hairdress falls down
to the shoulders.¹⁸⁹ Inscription: • N|I:
'Ο ἄ(γιος) Νι[κῆτ(ας)]: St. Niketas.
The symbol for 'Ο ἄ(γιος) is extremely
small, only a dot.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΝΙΚΗΤΑ
· ΨΕCΘΝ
ΝΙΚΗΤΑΝ
ΨCΘΕΜΙ
C

Date:

late XIth –
first quarter
of the
XIIth c.

Νικήτα, [σ]ῶζε σὸν Νικήταν ὡς
θέμις.

(St.) Niketas, save your Niketas as is
customary.

There is probably a cross above the
legend and ornaments on either side
of the single letter in the last line.

The inscription forms a dodecasyllable
with caesura after the 5th syllable.

Border of dots.

¹⁸⁹ A similar, but still better preserved bust of
St. Niketas the Goth in CHEYNET, Société 576.

8. Petros

VP-35.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 27×25 mm. D₂. 24 mm.

H. 4 mm. W. 17 g.

The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

Kvitneve village, Popil'nia district, Zhytomyr oblast'.



Page 176

Obv. Bust of St. Michael vested in the imperial loros, holding a long scepter (r. hand) and a globus without a cross (l. hand). Only the left wing is visible
Inscription: X : [M(ι)]χ(αήλ): *Michael*.
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+K̅E̅R̅O
H̅Θ̅E̅I̅T̅Ω
. Ψ̅Δ̅O̅N̅Λ̅Ω
Π̅E̅T̅P̅O

Date:

XIth c. (ca.
second or
third third)

+ K(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ [σ]ῷ δούλῳ
Πέτρ(ω).

+ *Lord aid your servant Petros.*

Border of dots.

Commentary:

An X with pearls in the quarters between horizontal bars appears under the legend.

9. Stephanos

VP-1652.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**

D. 30.5×28.5 mm.
H. 2.5 mm. W. 8.9 g.
Half of seal. Corroded.

Find-spot:

Satyiv village, Dubno
district, Rivne oblast'.



Page 177

Obv. Standing figure of the nimbed biblical king David, dressed in royal clothes, but without a crown. Inscription on the left: Δ|Α|Ρ|Ι|Δ; the right inscription is lost, perhaps it read "Prophetes": Δαβίδ [Προφήτης]: *Prophet David*.
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

.. ΚΦΥC
..... ΤΩΝ
.... ΘΛΩ
... CTE
... Ψ

Date:
second half
of the XIth c.

[+ Ξ]κφυς [προφη]τῶν [β(οή)θ(ει)
τ[ῶ] δ]ούλω [σου] Στε[φάν]ω.
*Offspring of prophets, help your servant
Stephanos.*
Border of dots.

Commentary:

Since the other half of the seal is lost and the preserved one damaged, the proposed legend constitutes a hypothesis. As it stands it forms a political verse. With the phrase ἕκφυς προφητῶν prophet David is invoked.

Michael

VP-45.



Petros

VP-35.



Niketas

VP-1204.



Stephanos

VP-1652.



3. Monogrammatic Seal

1. N.N., *apo eparchon*(?)

VP-1610.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 21.5 mm. H. 4 mm.
W. 8.3 g. The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 9 h. Outbreaks at both ends of the channel.

Find-spot:

Poltava oblast'.



Page 182

Obv. Block monogram with many alternative readings.

If we read the letters A, E, M, O, P, V and X we can get *inter alia* the word μεράρχου.

The combination of A, E, M, N, O, P and V form the words Ἀρμενίου or Νουμεριανοῦ.

A, E, M, N, O, P, V and X could be read as Ἀρμεναρίχου or Ἑρμεναρίχου.

A, E, Λ, O, P, V and X could denote Ἀρχελάου.

A, E, Λ, M, O, P, and V can be read as Ἑρμολάου or Μαλαμείρου. Many more alternative readings may arise if one also includes names used in Egypt during this period. Under present circumstances and in lack of additional evidence, it would be unprofitable to propose a more specific reading.

No visible border.

Rev. Block monogram: A, E, N, O, Π, P, X, and Ω could denote ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων: *apo eparchon*. The top right letter is problematic, but, most probably it is an V. Be that as it may, one can read the word ὑπάτου or Ἰωάννου, i.e. a second title and a name respectively. If the name is included in the title we would prefer the reading of the command of merarches on the other side.

Only traces of the border.

Date:
VIIth c.,
perhaps
first half.

Commentary:

It is interesting to find such a seal, dating from the VIIth century, so far north of the Byzantine borders. We should bear in mind, however, that in this time there were not at least good relations between the empire and Kubrat, the king of the Protobulgarians. In addition, among other exchanges, there were also commercial relations with some tribes in the north.

4. Anonymous Seals

A. With Text

1. Anonymous (Georgios?)

VP-1619.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 23×13 mm. H. 2 mm.

W. 2.8 g. Half of seal.

Find-spot:

Pidstavky village,
Zolotonosha district,
Cherkasy oblast'.



Page 182

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

..ΩΡ
...ΦΥ
..ΤΤΕ

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

ΤΟΝ ..
ΟΙΚ.
ΤΗ.

Date:

second half
of the XIth c.

No visible border.

[Γε]ώρ[γιε] φύ[λα]ττε
τὸν [σοῦ] οἰκ[έ]τη[ν].
(St.) George, protect your servant.
Border of dots.

Commentary:

If the text begins with Γεώργιε, we have a regular dodecasyllable with caesura after the 7th syllable. Instead of σοῦ also an alternative reading would be possible, i.e. an abbreviated form of σὸν, e.g. C, N. There is probably an X with pearls in the quarters, between horizontal bars, above and under the legends.

Perhaps the seal belonged to a person named Georgios, but it is impossible to say with certainty.

B. With Text and Saint

1. Anonymous (Nikolaos?)

1. VP-1043.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 13.5×12 mm. H. 2.5 mm.
W. 3 g. Blank too small
for the die. The channel
runs from 9 to 3 h.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

2. VP-1124.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 15×16.5 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 4.3 g. Blank too small
for the die. The channel
runs from 8 to 2 h.

Find-spot:

Kyiv oblast'.

Parallel:

BARNEA, *Sigillii* 161-162,
no. 11 (misreading);
WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 1717n.

Obv. Full-length standing figure of St. Nikolaos. The saint is blessing (r. hand) and holding the Gospels (l. hand). Inscription on either side: Θ|ΝΙ|Κ – Δ|ΑΟ|C: 'Ο ἅ(γιος) Νικ[ό]λαος; *Saint Nikolaos*.

No visible border.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΥCΦΡΑ
ΓICEIMI
ΤΗΝΓΡΑ
ΦΗΝΟΡΝ
ΝΟΗ

Date:

second half
of the XIth c.

Οὐ σφραγίς εἰμι, τὴν γραφὴν
ὁρ(ῶ)ν νό(ει).

*Whose seal I am, recognize looking to
the script (of the document or letter).*

Border of dots.

Commentary:

That is a well-known metrical legend (dodecasyllable with the *caesura* after the fifth syllable).¹⁹⁰ There is a misspelling at the end of the 4th line, instead of ΩΝ. Barnea transcribed his seal: + Σφραγίς εἰμι, τὴν γρα[φῆ]ν [τη]ρῶ.

Perhaps the owner of the seal was called Nikolaos, but that remains unclear.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 1717.

C. With two saints

1. Iconographic seal with St. Georgios and St. Demetrios

VP-1562.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**D. 21.5×23 mm. D₂. 18 mm.

H. 2.5 mm. W. 8.7 g.

The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Kyiv oblast'.

**Obv.** Bust of St. Georgios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).Vertical inscriptions: Θ|Γ|Ε – Ρ|Γ,; Ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος: *Saint Georgios.***Border of dots.****Rev.** Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscriptions: Θ|Δ|Η – Ι|Μ|ΤΡ,; Ὁ ἅγιος Δημήτριος: *Saint Demetrios.*Vertical inscriptions: Θ|Δ|Η – Ι|Μ|ΤΡ,; Ὁ ἅγιος Δημήτριος: *Saint Demetrios.***Border of dots.****Date:**
XIIth c.**Commentary:**

On the obverse, the Ε is placed slightly under the Γ, Omega and Rho are ligated, and on the reverse the Iota is placed above the Mu instead of following it. The sigla for Ὁ ἅγιος are quite small. All these hints point to the XIIth century.

There are many seals with iconographic figures which exclude the name of the bullas' owner. One of the name of the military saints could correspond to the name of the owner, but that is far from certain. As both busts represent a military saint, it is possible that the seal's owner was a Byzantine military officer. He could also have been a Rus'ian.



Monogrammatic Seal

N.N., apo eparchon(?)

VP-1610.



Anonymous Seals

A. With Text. 1. Anonymous (Georgios?)

VP-1619.



B. With Text and Saint. 1. Anonymous (Nikolaos?)

1. VP-1043.



2. VP-1124.



C. With two saints

1. Iconographic seal with St. Georgios and St. Demetrios

VP-1562.



VII.
SEALS WITH INCOMPLETE
OR PROBLEMATIC TEXT

1. Chalkites(?) Ioannes, mandator and ...

VP-1750.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 18×19 mm. H. 4 mm.
W. 8.3 g. Blank too small
for die, struck off-center.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.



Page 190

Obv. Bust of St. Nikolaos blessing (r. hand) and holding a codex (l. hand).
Inscription on right side: **Κ|Ο|Λ**,:
[Ὁ ἄγιος Νι]κόλ(αος): *Saint Nikolaos*.
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+KER, .
ἸΩΜΑΝΤ
ΙΟΡ,Σ.
...Μ...
..ΛΚ..

Date:

first half of
the Xth c.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)[θ(ε)] Ἰω(άννη)
μαντ(ά)τ(ω)ρ(ι) (καί)
...[τ(ῶ) Χα]λκ[ίτ(η)](?).
+ *Lord aid Ioannes Chalkites(?)*
mandator and ...
Border of dots.

Commentary:

The owner of the seal was a Byzantine dignitary of lower rank, a mandator (written μαντάτωρ). After this word follows probably an S (for καί). The next letter should have been R, K, N or X; as there is a sign of abbreviation above it either X would have denoted χαρτουλαρίω, Ν νοταρίω, or Ρ βασιλικῶ. It is possible that the third line included one additional letter save for those already discussed. As regards the fourth line, only the identification of the Mu is quite secure. Before the Mu there was probably an Omikron (partly pressed) or a Sigma. After the Mu one could perhaps discern a N or Ξ.¹⁹¹ Judging by its vestiges, the last letter of the line must have been a Tau. We presume that the fifth line included a family name with Chalkites being one of the possible ones. There was probably an ornament under the legend.

¹⁹¹ In the latter case δρόμου would be a possibility.

2. Gabriel ..., imperial protospatharios

VP-1579.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 22×24 mm. D₂. 19 mm.
H. 3 mm. W. 7.9 g. Poorly
printed on the sides, hit.

Find-spot:

Kyiv oblast'.



Page 190

Obv. Probably a bust of the archangel Gabriel (represented similarly to Michael), vested in the imperial loros, with a scepter in his right hand and perhaps a (lost) globe in the left hand. Of the sigla only a Rho is visible on the right.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

— . —
.. ARP,
.. ΣΠΑΘ,
... ΚΥ,
....

[+ Γ]αβρ(ιήλ) [β(ασιλικός)
(πρωτο)]σπαθ(άριος) [ό ...]κουζ[...].
+ Gabriel ..., imperial protospatharios.

Border of dots.

Date:

second
quarter of
the XIth c.

Commentary:

The second part of the legend is unclear. In the middle of the third line we read a Kappa, followed by a Θ or an ΕΤΑ, then by what probably resembles a minuscule Zeta. We assume that the line started with the article ὁ, since it probably included a surname. If there was a Sigma in front of the Kappa, perhaps the owner's name begun with Κουσκουζ-. The PLP records at least one person called Κουσκούζης.¹⁹² It is open to question whether there is some connection with kuskus?

¹⁹² PLP 93898.

3. Georgios

VP-533.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 19×17 mm. H. 2.5 mm.

W. 5.1 g. Blank too small for die. Hit.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.



Page 191

Obv. Bust of St. Michael vested in the imperial loros, holding a scepter (r. hand). There are traces of his wings to the right. Of the sigla, only **M** is visible on the right above the wing.

No visible border.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

$\frac{+}{\dots \text{ΑΓΙC}}$
 $\frac{\text{ΕΩ} \dots \text{Θ}}{\text{ΡΑ} \text{ ΜΑ}}$
 $\text{T} \dots$

+ [Σφρ]αγίς [Γ]εω[ργί]ου
[γ]ρα[μ]μάτ[ων].

+ *Seal of the scripts of Georgios.*

No visible border.

Date:

Xth c.

(second or third third).

Commentary:

Most of the letters of the reverse are damaged. A supplying the word σφραγίς as the beginning of the inscription is in all likelihood a sound proposition. The first name Γεωργίου constitutes a plausible reading, based on the traces of the letters. The first letter of the third line is missing. After that there is probably a Rho and an Alpha, followed by a damaged letter which is in turn followed by a Mu and an Alpha. The last line begun with the letter T. We propose the word γραμμάτων, but the form γραμματικοῦ cannot be excluded either.

4. Karases(?) Pekapetros(?)

VP-1634.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**

D. 20.5×19.5 mm.
H. 2.5 mm. W. 6.8 g.
Without the channel.
A hole at the right side.

Find-spot:

Snovianka village, Chernihiv district, Chernihiv oblast'.



Obv. Bust of a young, beardless military saint, judging by the hair-dress probably St. Demetrios, bearing the lance in his r. hand. Traces of the inscription on the left side, probably denoting ὁ ἅγιος.

Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription on five lines:

— · —
+ ΚΕΡΟ
· · · · · Ε
· ΑΠΕΤΡΟ
· ΚΑΡΑ
CH—

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βο[ήθ(ει) ... Πέτρ(ω)(?)
[τ(ῷ)] Καρασῆ(?).
+ Lord aid ... Petros(?) Karases(?).

Border of dots.



Page 191

Date:

later XIth –
XIIth century.

Commentary:

The piece is problematic. If O is read at the end of the first line, the verbum probably continued with HΘ in the second line. The rest of this line is unclear, perhaps it included something like ΠΕ (but the Pi would have been quite massive). In the third line, the letters ΕΤΡΟ are clearly preserved, and probably came after a Pi or Nu. Before the latter there seems to have been an Α or Λ and another letter at the beginning which is non-existent. Petros seems as an acceptable reading but most probably only as a second part of the name. If we assume that the original name included a transcription of Turkish *bäg* / *bäi*, often written *πέκης*,¹⁹³ the name might have been Pekapetros or something similar. Or should we think about Πελα - or Πα(ιδ)α-? At the beginning of the next line we assume a T as the article. The family name seems to be ΚΑΡΑ|CH, which also probably reflects the Turkish origin of our individual.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ Cf. MORAVCSIK 250–251.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. MORAVCSIK 152.

Chalkites(?) Ioannes, mandator and ...

VP-1750.



Gabriel ..., imperial protospatharios

VP-1579.



Georgios

VP-533.



Karases(?) Pekapetros(?)

VP-1634.



5. Michael, protospatharios(?) and strategos of M...(or N...)

VP- 607.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 19×20 mm. D₂. 19 mm.
H. 2.5 mm. W. 5.8 g.
Pressed on the sides, corroded. The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Kyiv.



Obv. Bust of St. Michael vested in the imperial loros, probably holding a scepter and a globus cruciger?.
Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of four lines:

⋈
ΜΙΧΑΗΛ
... ΠΑΘ, Σ.
... ΤΙΓΜ (or Ν) ...
.....

+ Μιχαήλ [(πρωτο)σ]παθ(αρίω) (καὶ)
[στρα]τ(η)γ(ῶ) Μ[...] (or Ν[...]).
+ *Michael protospatharios and strategos of ...*
Border of dots.



Page 196

Date:

ca. 1010/1040.

Commentary:

Michael was probably protospatharios with b(asilikos) spatharios constituting another possibility. The most significant issue is the correct reading of the next letter which corresponded to the first letter of the thema. M would most probably denote Makedonia and N probably Nikopolis.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ There are more seals of a strategos of Nikopolis found in the old Rus'.

6. N.N. (Sergios?) ...

VP-375.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**D. 26 mm. D₂. 26 mm.

H. 2 mm. W. 6.8 g.

The channel of the seal runs from 2 to 8 h. Only half of the seal, which is badly pressed.

Find-spot:

between the Mamekyne village and Smiach village, Novhorod-Sivers'kyi district, Chernihiv oblast'.



Page 196

Obv. Standing figure of St. Theodoros with a spear (r. hand). Inscription: **Θ|Α – Θ:** Ὁ ἅ[γιο(ς)] Θ[εόδωρ(ος)]:
Saint Theodoros.

Border of dots.**Rev.** Inscription of (originally) four lines:

$\pm$
 .. P[Γ] (or T) ..
 ... O ...
 Q ..

Date:

Last third

XIIth – earlyXIIIth c.**Border of dots.****Commentary:**

As most of the legend is lost, only preliminary hypotheses are possible. This sumptuous seal probably belonged to a member of the imperial family (Komnenos?). If the second partially readable letter was a Gamma, perhaps the legend begun with the name Sergios. If the letter was Tau instead, Μάρτυς would be a plausible beginning of a metrical inscription, invoking the saint of the obverse. In the latter case we could think perhaps of a new variant of the legend: Μάρτυς, Μανουήλ Κομνηνοδούκαν σκέποις,¹⁹⁶ e.g. [MA]PT[V]C | [MAN]ON[HΛ] | [KOMNH]NO[Δ|ONK, CΣΠ,]. But it could also start with Μάρτυς, σῶζον με... At the end of the first line there are possibly traces of a C or an E.

¹⁹⁶ WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* I 1374.

7. Tatikes Leon, protonobellisimos(?)

VP-1585.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 15×16 mm. D₂. 10 mm.
H. 4 mm. W. 5.9 g. Hit.
The channel of the seal
runs from 1 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Karpylivka v., Lubny district,
Poltava oblast'.



Page 197

Obv. Bust of a saint, probably St. Nikolaos. Inscription: .|.|.| – .|Ο|Α:
[ὁ ἅγιος Νικ]όλ(αος): St. Nikolaos.
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ΚΕΡ,Θ,
ΛΕΟΝΤΙ
·ΟΤΑΤΙΚ
· · · · · Ε ·

Date:

last third
XIth – early
XIIth c.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Λέοντι [τ](ῷ)
Τατίκ(η) [(πρωτο)νοβ]ε[λ(λίσιμω)](?).
+ Lord aid Leon Tatikes,
protonobellisimos(?).
Border of dots.

Commentary:

Many letters are pressed and deformed, rendering the reconstruction difficult. Our reading of the end of the legend is only an initial hypothesis, but we prefer protonobellisimos to protoproedros or to another title. The name Tatikes / Tatikios is well-known in Byzantium from the Xth through the XIIIth c..¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ Cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, Tatikioi; STAVRAKOS 254; PLP 2754.

8. Theodoros ...

VP-1637.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**

D. 32×22.5 mm.

H. 3 mm. W. 8.4 g.

Half of seal. Corroded.

Find-spot:Stari Bezradychi village,
Obukhiv district, Kyiv oblast'.

Page 197

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God (Hodegetria); remains of the nimbus of Jesus Christ at right. The sigla are lost.
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

. ΕΘ . ΩΡ,
.. Ε... Ε
.... ΚΟ .
.....
.... Κ .
.. C

Date:XIth c.,
second half.

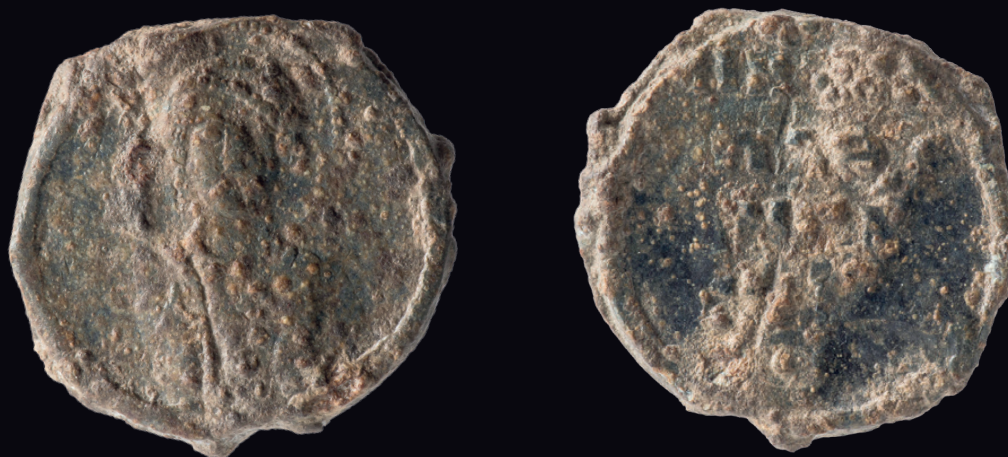
[+ Θ]εό[δ]ωρ(ον) [σκ]έ[πε] με
... or [Θ]εο[δ]ώρ(ω) [β]έ[στ]η or
even [(πρωτο)β]έ[στ]η) ἐ[πὶ τοῦ]
κο[ιτῶνος...].
+ *Theodoros* ...
Border of dots.

Commentary:

Only half of the seal is at our disposition and this is, unfortunately, badly damaged. We can, therefore, suggest a hypothetical reading only for the beginning of the legend.

Michael, protospatharios(?) and strategos of M...(or N...)

VP- 607.



N.N. (Sergios?) ...

VP-375.



Tatikes Leon, protonobellisimos(?)

VP-1585.



Theodoros ...

VP-1637.



9. N.N.

VP-82.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 23×15 mm. H. 2 mm.

W. 4.3 g. The channel of the seal runs from 2 to 8 h. Half of seal.

Find-spot:

Horods'ke village, Korostyshiv district, Zhytomyr oblast'.



Page 201

Obv. Originally, there was a bust of the Virgin Hodegetria Aristerokratusa on the obverse, but only the bust of Christ with small details of the mother's cloth and nimbus are preserved. Concerning the sigla Θ is visible. Remains of the circular inscription: **ΩΔΘΛΩ**: [Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ] σῶ δούλῳ: *Mother of God, aid your servant.*

Border of dots.

Rev. Standing figure of St. Theodoros with a long beard, holding a lance (r. hand), and resting his left hand on top of his shield. Inscription on the right side: **ΩΔΘΛΩ**: [Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ] σῶ δούλῳ: *Saint Theodoros.* Around the figure there was a circular inscription, probably with a name and a title, an office or a surname, but only minimal traces are preserved. It could be that the owner's name was Theodoros, but that is only a hypothesis. In lack of exact parallels, the problem remains unresolved.

No visible border.

Date:

XIth c., second to third third.

10. N.N.

VP-758.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**

D. 31×16 mm. H. 2 mm.

W. 6.1 g. Half of seal.

Find-spot:

Kyiv oblast'.



Page 201

Obv. Bust of a saint. If the traces on the left denote a **M** and, perhaps a **P**, the featured person should have been the Theotokos.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

—.—
...ΘΟ.
....VΛ..
.....
.....Α..
....Ο.

Date:

second half
of XIth – first
quarter of
XIIth c.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

Perhaps the legend started with something like Βοηθὸς καὶ φύλαξ,¹⁹⁸ but the rest is more or less lost. We do not know of a similar seal which could be of assistance, but there is indeed a seal starting with Βοηθός.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ A possible continuation could be ἔστω, Κόρη...

¹⁹⁹ WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* I 206. Cf. also 732: "Ελθοις βοηθ[ός] and 797: [Ἐσο βοηθ]ός.

11. N.N.

VP-1635.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 20×17 mm. H. 3 mm.

W. 5.5 g. Quarter of seal.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.



Obv. Probably standing figure of a warrior saint.

(Double?) border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of originally ca. six or seven lines, but only the remains of four lines are preserved:

Date:

late XIth –
first half
XIIth c.

.ACH....
ΠΟΙ.

The end of the inscription was probably [σκέ]ποι[ς]. -άση[ν] could denote the ending of a family name. There are visible traces of a letter, perhaps Phi, before the Alpha. The PLP records a person named Φάση²⁰⁰ but this constitutes a preliminary suggestion. The legend was probably metrical.

Border of dots.

²⁰⁰ PLP 29651.

VP-82.



VP-758.



VP-1635.



PART TWO

**RUS' SEALS
IN BYZANTINE STYLE**

I.

GRAND PRINCES/
VELYKYI KNIAZ', PRINCES/
KNIAZ' AND PRINCESSES/
KNIAHYNIA OF RUS'

1. The Grand Prince of Rus' / Velykyi Kniaz'

1. Yaroslav-Georgios Volodymyrovych, megas archon of Rus'

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-1603.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 34.5×35.5 mm.

D₂. 30 mm.

H. 4.5 mm. W. 34.5 g.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv city, Chernihiv district, Chernihiv oblast'.



Page 208

Obv. Bust of St. Georgios with a spear in his right and a shield in his left hand, dressed in a cloak fastened with a fibula on the right shoulder. Vertical inscriptions: **Θ|ΓΕ|Ω|Ρ-Γ|ΙΟ|Σ**: Ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος: *Saint Georgios*.

Border of dots.

Rev. Bust of Velykyi kniaz' Yaroslav Volodymyrovych, with a long moustache and a roundish beard. The prince wears a hat topped with a small sphere and dressed in a cloak fastened on the right shoulder. The palm of his right hand is in front of his chest. There is a circular shaped item similar to a globe (with a kind of trifolium), in his left hand. The vertical inscription on either side of the bust reads: **Ι|Ε|ΡΟ|Σ|ΘΛ|Δ|ΡΟ|Σ** – **Μ|ΑΡ|ΧΩΝ|ΡΩ|C|Α**:

Ἱερόσθλαβος μ(έ)γ(ας) ἄρχων

Ῥωσία(ς): *Yaroslav Grand-Prince Rosias*.

Border of dots.

Date:

the first half XIth c.

This quite representative seal type was apparently produced for diplomatic contacts with foreign powers, esp. with the Byzantine emperor. As μέγας ἄρχων Ῥωσίας Yaroslav was certainly ruler in Kyiv. We should bear in mind that in 1043 the Rus'ians launched a serious campaign against Constantinople. After military confrontations, negotiations ensued for some years between the emperor and Yaroslav. A reconciliation was achieved at the end, probably around 1052, sealed by a dynastic marriage between Yaroslav's youngest son Vsevolod and a close relative of emperor Constantine Monomachos, a Monomachaina. A year later, their first son was born, Volodymyr Monomach.²⁰⁰ Since Yaroslav's baptismal name was George, the image of St. George features on his seals. After 1054 Yaroslav passed away.

²⁰⁰ Cf. RAFFENSPERGER, *Ties of Kinship* 52–55; SEIBT, Dobronega 116. In 1051 Ilarion was consecrated as a first non-Greek metropolitan of the Rus'.

b) second boulloterion

2. VP-1295.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 35×31 mm. D₂. 27 mm.

H. 2 mm. W. 13 g.

The channel of the seal runs from 3 to 9 h.

Find-spot:

Moshchne village, Mena district, Chernihiv oblast'.



Page 209

Obv. Bust of St. Georgios with a spear in right and a shield in left hand, dressed in a cloak fastened with a fibula on the right shoulder. Vertical inscriptions: . | . . | ω – p | . | . . | c̣: [O ᾗ(γιος) Γε]ώρ[γιο]ς: *Saint Georgios*.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ K̄ER,Θ,
TΩCΩΔ .
ΓΕΟΡΓΑ
– PX –

+ K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ[ού(λῳ)]
Γε(ω)ργ(ίῳ) ἄρχ(οντι).

+ *Lord aid your servant Georgios archon.*

Border of dots.

Date:

Ca. second quarter of the XIth c.
If the seal belonged to Yaroslav, he could have used a type like that already before he became master of Kyiv.

There is a similar seal, but of lower quality and of a slightly later date, probably second third XIth c., which was attributed to Rostyslav Volodymyrovych (†1066) or Mstyslav Iziaslavych († 1069) by V. Yanin.²⁰¹ On both types we only find the designation archon, so the owner could have been any Rus'ian kniaz' of the period bearing the Christian name Georgios / Yuri.

Analogies (a similar seal):

The numismatics department of Hermitage, 14 (provenance Levashivka village, Horodnia district, Chernihiv oblast', Ukraine).

Publ.:

YANIN, *Актовые печати* I 24

²⁰¹ YANIN, *Актовые печати* I, no. 24.

Yaroslav-Georgios Volodymyrovych, megas archon of Rus'

a) *first boulloterion*



1. VP-1603.



b) second boulloterion



2. VP-1295.



c) third boulloterion

3. VP-463.



Publ.:

ΑΛΦ'ΟΡΟΝ, Κατάλογ 2.

Dimensions:

D. 34.5×36.5 mm.

D₂. 25 mm. H. 3.5 mm.

W. 30 g. Corroded.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv city, Chernihiv district, Chernihiv oblast'.



Page 214

4. VP-1602.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 35×36 mm. D₂. 25 mm.

H. 4 mm. W. 26.9 g.

Half of the seal. Obverse struck off-center.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.



Page 215

5. VP-413.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 37×36 mm. D₂. 25 mm.

H. 4 mm. W. 29.4 g.

The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h. Two holes at the top. Break at the bottom end of the channel.

Find-spot:

Stari Bezradychy village, Obukhiv district, Kyiv oblast'.



Page 216

6. VP-1221.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 35×35 mm. D₂. 25 mm.

H. 4 mm. W. 16.9 g.

Half of the seal.

Find-spot:

Kyrdany village, Tarashcha district, Kyiv oblast'.



Page 216

7. VP-822.



Page 217

Unpublished.

Find-spot:

Shcherbanivka village,
Obukhiv district, Kyiv oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 34×20 mm.
D₂. 25 mm. H. 4 mm.
W. 15.7 g. Half of the seal.

Analgies:

- a) Museum of the History of Kyiv;
- b) Private collection (found in Kyiv);
- c) Private collection, RF (found in v. Vorotynsk, Vorotynsk d., Kaluga o., RF).

Obv. Bust of St. Georgios wearing a neck-ring, with a spear in his right and a shield in his left hand, dressed in a cloak fastened with a fibula on the right shoulder. Vertical inscriptions: $\Theta|\Gamma|\epsilon - \Theta|\rho|\Gamma|\Omega$; $\text{'}\Theta \text{ } \alpha(\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma)$ Γεώργ(ι)ο(ς): *Saint Georgios*.
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

Date:

ca. the second quarter
XIth c.

— + —
ΚΝΡΙΕ
ΡΟΗΘΕΙ
ΤΩΣΩΔΟΝ
ΛΩΓΕΩΡ
• ΓΙΩ •

+ Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ
Γεωργίῳ.
+ *Lord aid your servant Georgios.*
Border of dots.

Publ.:

- a) ЯНИН, *Актовые печати* I 172–173, pl. 4, 35 (attributed to knyaz' Rostyslav Volodymyrovych (†1066) or Mstyslav Iziaslavych (†1069);
- b) Nechytailo I 30;
- c) Знукон, Ярослав (Георгий), 4; BUTYRSKII — ORETSKAYA, *Запечатлевшие историю*, 92.

d) fourth boulloterion

8. VP-1144.



Page 217

Publ.:

ΑΛΦ'ΟΡΟΝ, *Неизвестная печать* 1.

Find-spot:

Obukhiv district, Kyiv oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 27×29 mm. D₂. 23 mm. H. 3 mm. W. 16.2 g.
The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.

Obv. Bust of St. George wearing a neck-ring, with a spear in his right and a shield in his left hand, dressed in a cloak fastened with a fibula on the right shoulder. Vertical inscriptions: $\Theta|\Gamma|\epsilon - \Theta|\rho|\Gamma|\Omega$; $\text{'}\Theta \text{ } \alpha(\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma)$ Γε(ώ)ργ(ι)ο(ς): *Saint Georgios*.
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

Date:

ca. 1020/1040.
The O-V-ligature appears in a horse-shoe form, albeit not in the final state (Ϟ).

— — —
+ ΚΕΡ,Θ,
ΤΩΣΩΔΗ
ΓΕΩΡΓΙ
— Ϟ —

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ)
Γεωργίῳ.
+ *Lord aid your servant Georgios.*
Border of dots.

Commentary:

The most probable owner of these seals, which only record the Christian name Georgios, is Yaroslav, born 978/979 as son of Volodymyr, Knjaz' of Kyiv (†1015), and Rognida, Kniahynia of Polotsk.²⁰² Yaroslav assumed his first post in the town of Rostov and later, after the death of his older brother Vysheslav, he was installed in Novgorod by Volodymyr.²⁰³

In 1014 Yaroslav refused to pay annual tribute to Kyiv and raised Varangian mercenaries. Next year, however, his father unexpectedly died. This caused bloody wars between Volodymyr's sons for the right to gain Kyiv. In 1016 Yaroslav defeated Kniaz' Sviatopolk and established himself in Kyiv.²⁰⁴ In 1017 he launched a raid to Berestie²⁰⁵ and founded the Sophia cathedral in Kyiv.²⁰⁶ In 1018 after an unsuccessful raid to Volynia, Yaroslav lost Kyiv, leaving the city to the troops of King Boleslav and Sviatopolk.²⁰⁷ Only a year later, however, Yaroslav prevailed over Sviatopolk and took Kyiv back.²⁰⁸

In 1021 Yaroslav defeated Briachyslav, Kniaz' of Polotsk.²⁰⁹ In 1023 a war began between Yaroslav and Mstyslav, Kniaz' of Tmutorokan. The latter (with an army of Khazars and Kasogians), attempted to capture Kyiv but failed, capturing the city of Chernihiv instead. In 1024 Yaroslav (with the help of the Varangian mercenaries) engaged with Mstyslav at Lystvyn but was defeated. After the battle he withdrew to Novgorod. Despite Mstyslav's attempt to settle for a peaceful agreement with Yaroslav, defining their sphere of influence along the Dnipro River, Yaroslav refused to return to Kyiv. Nevertheless, the two brothers reached such an agreement at Horodets' in 1026.²¹⁰

In 1030 Yaroslav subjected the city of Belz and the Ests (the Chud tribe) where he founded the city Yuriev. In commemoration of the founding of this city, he issued ceremonial silver coins with the image of St. Georgios on the obverse and a trident (his symbol) on the reverse.²¹¹ The iconography of these coins is very similar to that of the obverse of Yaroslav's seals. The earliest seal of Yaroslav was discovered in Novgorod in a cultural layer dated between c. 1000 and 1030s (the fifth boulloterion). One similar seal has been found in the Kyiv oblast'.²¹² It features a bust of Yaroslav on the reverse with a long moustache and a short roundish beard, wearing a neck-ring and a cloak fastened with a circular brooch on the right shoulder. He wears a cone-shaped hat topped with a small sphere. The closest parallels to this headwear are found on Cnut the Great's coinage, issued in 1023–1029 and on the Swedish coins of Anund Jacob, dated to 1020–1030s.

²⁰² ЛІКНАСЧЕВ, *Матеріалы* I 155–156.

²⁰³ PSRL I 121; PSRL II 67, 105.

²⁰⁴ NPL 15; PSRL II 130.

²⁰⁵ According to PSRL I 146, this raid took place in 1022; PSRL II 134.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*; NPL 16.

²⁰⁷ PSRL I 143; Thietmar von Merseburg, Lib.VIII 31–32; Titmar Merzeburgskii 177.

²⁰⁸ PSRL I 145–146.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*; NPL 16.

²¹⁰ PSRL I 149; PSRL II 137.

²¹¹ ANDROSHCHUK, *Images of Power* 69.

²¹² SOTNIKOVA, Seal of Yaroslav 221–222, figs.1–2.

The latter were minted in Sigtuna²¹³ and, most probably, acted as an inspiration for the designing of Yaroslav's image. The bust of the prince is flanked by a Cyrillic inscription in three lines "Yaroslav, Kniaz' of Rus'". The inscription suggests the year 1019 as terminus post quem for these seals. The image of Yaroslav on the seal is similar but definitely secondary in style in comparison to the above-mentioned seals from Novgorod and the Kyiv oblast.

In Yaroslav's case there is certainly a misrepresentation of the hat, which is more roundish than that of Cnut the Great and Anund Jacob (as depicted on coins and the seal from Novgorod), and folds of the cloak which can be mistakenly interpreted as a globe. These inaccuracies demonstrate that the craftsman of the seal in the Sheremetiev's collection did not understand north-European iconographic tradition and was more familiar with Byzantine prototypes.

The inscription in Greek, "Yaroslav Grand-Prince of Rus", points to the year 1024 (the division of authority between Yaroslav and Mstyslav at Horodets') as terminus post quem for this type of seals.²¹⁴ Two seals of the second boulloterion, a "Georgios archon", were found in the Chernihiv oblast'. In addition, two seals of the third boulloterion with the Greek inscription "Lord aid your servant Georgios", were discovered in the same region. All these four seals could date from the period between 1031 (the raids of Yaroslav and Mstyslav against the Lekhites) and 1036 (Mstyslav's death).²¹⁵ After 1036 till his death (after 1054) Yaroslav "Mudryi" ruled Kyiv unchallenged.²¹⁶

²¹³ MICHAILOV, Печать Ярослава 93–95; MALMER, *Vikingatiden* 65–66, 297–300.

²¹⁴ The origin of the title "Grand Prince" which is a Slavonic rendering of *μ(ε)γ(α)ς ἄρχων* has been a subject of discussion: POPPE, Title 684–689; POPPE, O tytule 423–439; DIMNIK, Grand Prince 253–312; RAEV, Velikii Kniaz' 47–69. Apart from its earliest mentions in the tenth-century treatises between Byzantium and Rus', written originally in Greek, the appearing of the term is usually dated to the end of twelfth century. Until the second part of the twelfth century, only princes residing in Kyiv were called "Grand Princes". For ТОЛОЧКО, Князь 130, 133, "the Grand Prince" is the title of he who holds the largest share of authority in the principality. Our seal confirm the usage of the title "Grand Prince" at least before 1054.

²¹⁵ PSRL I 150; PSRL II 138.

²¹⁶ Cf. also LMA V 306–307 (A. POPPE: 2. Jaroslav I der Weise).

Yaroslav-Georgios Volodymyrovych, megas archon of Rus'

c) *third boulloterion*



3. VP-463.





4. VP-1602.



Yaroslav-Georgios Volodymyrovych, megas archon of Rus'

c) third boulloterion

5. VP-413.



6. VP-1221.



7. VP-822.



d) fourth boulloterion

8. VP-1144.



2. Vsevolod-Andreas Yaroslavych

Obv. Bust of St. Andreas, his long hair-dress falls down to his shoulders; he is holding a long cross (l. hand) and blessing (r. hand).

Inscription:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 2) Ο Α ΓΙ ΟC – ΑΝ ΔΡ Α; | 9) ΑΝ ΔΡ Α Ε; |
| 3) Ο Α ΓΙ ΟC – Α; | 10) Ο Α ΓΙ Ο – ΑΝ ΔΡΕ Α C; |
| 4) Ο Α ΓΙ ΟC – Α Ν ΔΡ Ε Α; | 11) Ο Α ΓΙ Ο – Α Ν ΔΡ Ε; |
| 5) Ρ; | 12) Ο Α ΓΙ Ο – Α . Δ . . .; |
| 6) Ο Α ΓΙ ΟC – Α Ν ΔΡ Ε Α; | 13) ΓΙ Ο – Ν Ρ Δ Ε; |
| 7) Ο Α Ν – Δ Ρ Α; | 14) Ο Α ΓΙ Ο –; |
| 8) Θ Α Ν – Ρ; | |

Ὁ ἅγιος Ἀνδρέας: Saint Andreas.

Border of dots.

TYPE 1

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-279.



Publ.:

ΑΛΦ'ΟΡΟΝ, Всеволод 5.

Dimensions:

D. 26×26 mm.

D₂. 24 mm. H. 4 mm.

W. 17.1 g. Corroded.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

— . —
+ΚΕΡ,Ο
ΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩ
ΔΟΥΛΩΑΝ
ΔΡΕΑΤΟCΕ
ΡΛΑΔΟ



Page 220

b) second boulloterion

2. VP-538.



Publ.:

ΑΛΦ'ΟΡΟΝ, Всеволод 8.

Dimensions:

D. 28.5×29.5 mm.

D₂. 25 mm. H. 4 mm.

W. 25.3 g. The channel of the seal runs from 12 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

Pereyaslav city, Kyiv oblast'.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΚΕΡΟ
ΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩ
ΔΟΥΛΩΑΝ
ΔΡΕΑΤΟCΕ
ΡΛΑΔ



Page 221

c) *third boulloterion*

3. VP-366.



Publ.:

АЛѢОРОВ, Всеволод 12.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

Dimensions:

D. 31.5×32 mm. D₂. 23 mm.

H. 4 mm. W. 20.7 g.

Find-spot:

Olshanytsia village, Rokytne district, Kyiv oblast'.

+ΚΕΡΟ
ΘΕΙΤΩΩ
ΔΟΝΛΩΑΝ
ΔΡΕΑΤΟΣ
ΡΛΛΔΟ

On these three seals there is the legend:

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἀνδρέα τ(ῷ)

Σεβλάδ(ῳ).

+ *Lord help your servant Andreas-Sevlad.*

The first seal has letters of regular size. The letters variate in the second seal and in the third one, big (esp. in the last line) and small (esp. O) letters are interchangeable. The latter has a mistake in the middle of the last line: There is a second Lambda instead of an Alpha and the Delta takes a strange form, resembling an upside down Tau.



Page 222

The form Σεβλαδος is probably also found on the type of YANIN, АКТОВЫЕ ПЕЧАТИ I 16 and YANIN – ГАЙДУКОВ, АКТОВЫЕ ПЕЧАТИ III 16a.

TYPE 2

d) *fourth boulloterion*

4. VP-1107.



Publ.:

АЛѢОРОВ, Всеволод 6.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

Dimensions:

D. 32×33.5 mm. D₂. 24 mm.

H. 3 mm. W. 25.6 g.

The channel of the seal runs from 12 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

Syvolozh village, Borzna district, Chernihiv oblast'.

+ΚΕΡΟ
ΗΘΕΙΤΩΩ
ΔΟΝΛΩΑΝ
ΔΡΕΑΤΟΣ,
ΡΛΛΔΟ

This legend follows the former type quite closely, but at the end of the fourth line the Epsilon is abbreviated: Σ(ε)βλάδ(ῳ). This abbreviation mark is the main difference between this seal and the following type.



Page 223

Vsevolod-Andreas Yaroslavych

TYPE 1

a) *first boulloterion*



1. VP-279.



b) second boulloterion



2. VP-538.



Vsevolod-Andreas Yaroslavych

TYPE 1

c) *third boulloterion*



3. VP-366.



TYPE 2

d) *fourth boulloterion*



4. VP-1107.



TYPE 3

e) fifth boulloterion

5. VP-1087.



Publ.:
ALF'OROV, Всеволод 16.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

Dimensions:
D. 31×32 mm.
D₂. 24 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 24.7 g. Without a channel, corroded, hole in the top part.

— · —
+KERO
HOEI . . C .
ΔΟΝ . ΨΑΝ
ΔΡΕ . ΤΟC
ΡΛΑΔΟ
— · —

Find-spot:
Kyiv oblast'.

f) sixth boulloterion

6. VP-892.



Publ.:
ALF'OROV, Всеволод 7.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

Dimensions:
D. 36×37 mm. D₂. 30 mm.
H. 3 mm. W. 27.3 g.
The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 6 h.

— * —
+KERO
HΘEITΩC
ΔΟΝΛΩΑΝ
ΔΡΕΑΤΟC
ΡΛΑΔΟ
— * —

Find-spot:
Ukraine.

g) seventh boulloterion

7. VP-1028.



Publ.:
ALF'OROV, Всеволод 11;
ALF'OROV, Καταλογ 5.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

Dimensions:
D. 32×33.5 mm. D₂. 30 mm.
H. 4.5 mm. W. 28.1 g.
The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

— × —
ΟΞΑΓ+
Ψ'ΩΤΙΘΗΙ
ΝΑΨΛΥΟΔ
ΖΟΤΑΘΡΔ
ΟΔΑΛΛΑ

Find-spot:
Kyiv oblast'.

h) eighth boulloterion

8. VP-1033.



Publ.:
ALF'OROV, Всеволод 9.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

Dimensions:
D. 32×33.5 mm. D₂. 22 mm.
H. 3 mm. W. 23.2 g.
The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 7 h. Poorly printed on the sides.

+KERO
· ΘΕΙΤΩC
ΨΔΟΝΛΩΑ
ΝΔΡΕΑΤΟC
ΡΛΑΔΟ

Find-spot:
Bila Tserkva city, Bila Tserkva district, Kyiv oblast'.

i) ninth boulloterion

9. VP-532.



Publ.:
ALF'OROV, Всеволод 18.

Dimensions:
D. 32×32.5 mm. D₂. 26 mm.
H. 3 mm. W. 22.9 g.
The channel of the seal
runs from 1 to 7 h.
Rev. struck off-center.

Find-spot:
c. Borodianka, Borodianka
district, Kyiv oblast'.

Rev. Inscription of five
lines:

+KERO
HΘEITWC
ΨΔΟΝΛΨΑ
ΝΔΡΕΑΤΟC
ΡΛΑΔΟ

j) tenth boulloterion

10. VP-39.



Publ.:
ALF'OROV, Всеволод 19.

Dimensions:
D. 29×29.5 mm. D₂. 24 mm.
H. 5 mm. W. 24 g.
Without the channel. Hit.

Find-spot:
Liudvynivka village,
Makariv district, Kyiv oblast'.

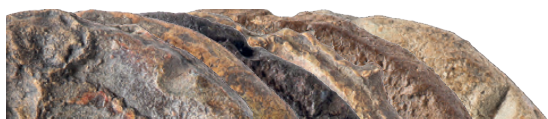
Analogies:
Private collection.

Publ.:
BUTYRSKII — ORETSKAYA,
Запечатлевание
устою, 95.

Rev. Inscription of five
lines:

+KERO
HΘ . . ΨWC
. ΔΟΝΛΨΑ
ΝΔΡΕΑΤΟC
ΡΛΑΔΟ

Page 226-227



This group is characterized by its slightly different arrangement of its legend and especially by the way it transcribes the Slavic name which begins only with C, without an abbreviation, reading Σβλάδ(φ):
+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἀνδρέα τ(ῷ) Σβλάδ(φ).
+ Lord help your servant Andreas-Svlad.

Some seals of this group only have an A at the end of the third line, while others have an AN, just like the previous type. Sometimes the R has a rounded top making it similar to a semicircular Alpha. Smaller letters (esp. O) appear next to bigger ones. No. 7 is the most strange specimen because the boulloterion was cut positive, rendering the imprint negative and retrograde. In addition, while ΚΕ is in the middle of the first line, a RO appears on either side of ΚΕ instead of just after it. Above the legend of no. 7 there is a nice ornament (four dots in the quarters of an X). Similar seals are found in YANIN, *Актовые печати* I 18 and 19 and YANIN — GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печати* III 15-2. The seal of YANIN — GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печати* III 20a constitutes an interesting variant as it features a (reduced) Sigma at the beginning of the last line.

Vsevolod-Andreas Yaroslavych

TYPE 3

e) fifth boulloterion

5. VP-1087.



f) sixth boulloterion

6. VP-892.



g) seventh boulloterion

7. VP-1028.



h) eighth boulloterion

8. VP-1033.



i) ninth boulloterion

9. VP-532.



j) tenth boulloterion

10. VP-39.



TYPE 4

k) eleventh boulloterion

11. VP-74.



Publ.:
ALF'OROV, Всеволод 21.

Dimensions:
D. 30×29 mm. D₂. 23 mm.
H. 3 mm. W. 23.4 g.
The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 7 h. Hit.

Find-spot:
Horods'ke village,
Korostyshiv district,
Zhytomyr oblast'.



Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+K̄ERO
H̄EITWC
ΩΔONΛΩA
NΔPEΛTO
PΛAΔO



Page 230

l) twelfth boulloterion

12. VP-891.



Publ.:
ALF'OROV, Всеволод 19.

Dimensions:
D. 29.5×26.5 mm.
D₂. 21.5 mm. H. 4.5 mm.
W. 22.4 g. The first channel of the seal runs from 1 to 6 h., the second channel of the seal runs from 3 to 9 h. Outbreak on the right side of the seal.

Find-spot:
unknown.



Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+K̄ERO
N̄EITWC
ΩΔONΛΩ .
NΔPEΛTO
PΛAΔ



Page 230

m) thirteenth boulloterion

13. VP-367.



Publ.:
ALF'OROV, Всеволод 23.

Dimensions:
D. 29.5×30 mm. D₂. 28 mm.
H. 4.5 mm. W. 18.8 g.
The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 7 h. Poorly printed on the sides.

Find-spot:
Yablunivka village, Korsun'-
Shevchenkivs'kyi district,
Cherkasy oblast'.



Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+K̄ERO
N̄EITWC
ΩΔONΛΩA
NΔPEΛTO
PΛAΔ



Page 231

n) fourteenth boulloterion

14. VP-371.



Publ.:
ALF'OROV, Всеволод 25.

Dimensions:
D. 28×31 mm. D₂. 27 mm.
H. 4 mm. W. 21.2 g.
Without the channel. Poorly printed on the sides. Hole in the centre (obverse).

Find-spot:
Roishche village, Chernihiv district,
Chernihiv oblast'.



Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+K̄ERO
... TWC
ΩΔONΛΩA
NΔPEΛTO
PΛAΔ



Page 231

In this group, the SLAVIC name is reduced to Βλάδ(φ), without a C. Once more, the same Rho appears, in this rounded form, resembling a semicircular Alpha, as do similar mistakes: a Lambda instead of an Alpha, and in no. 14, a V instead of an A). Cf. also YANIN, *Актовые печати I* 20–22.
+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ
Ἀνδρέα τ(ῷ) Βλάδ(φ).
+ *Lord help your servant Andreas-Vlad.*
Border of dots. **Date:**
ca. 1054–1093.

Commentary:

Vsevolod / Vsevlad, one of the younger sons of Kniaz' Yaroslav Mudryi and Ingigerd-Irene, the daughter of Olof Skötkonung, was born in 1030. According to the chronicles, Vsevolod was married (ca. 1052) to a "Greek Princess", a close relative of the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachos,²¹⁷ and had two sons with her, Volodymyr Monomach (born 1053) and Rostyslav. After his father had passed away in 1054, Vsevolod inherited the principality of Pereyaslav.²¹⁸ In 1060, he launched a raid (along with his brothers Iziaslav and Sviatoslav) against the Torks. Next year he was defeated by the Polovtsians. In 1067 Vsevolod with his brothers advanced against Vseslav Bryachyslavych, Kniaz' of Polotsk, but Vseslav was defeated on the Nemiga River. Vseslav escaped unharmed, but was asked by the brothers to come to the Rsha (Orshitsa) River near Smolensk to settle the peace. There Vseslav was captured and imprisoned in Kyiv. In 1068 the Polovtsians destroyed the joint army of the brothers on the Lta (Alta) River. In 1070 Vsevolod founded a church of St. Michael in his monastery in Vydobych, in the vicinity of Kyiv, and in 1086 a church of St. Andrew in the same city. In 1072 he participated in the transfer of Sts. Borys and Hlib relics into the new church in Vyshgorod. In 1073 the harmony between the three brothers broke down and Vsevolod supported Svyatoslav's illegitimate capturing of the Kyiv's seat. Iziaslav was exiled and Vsevolod established in Chernihiv. After the death of Sviatoslav in 1076, Iziaslav (supported by the Lekhites) advanced against Vsevolod. Next year the brothers reached a peace agreement whereby Kyiv was returned to Iziaslav and Vsevolod acquired Chernihiv. In 1078 Vsevolod was driven out of Chernihiv by a Polovtsian army under the command of Kniaz's Borys and Oleh. The same year, the both brothers prevailed over the invaders at the Nezhatyna Nyva, but Izyaslav was killed. From 1078 until 1093 Vsevolod ruled in Kyiv. His reign was dominated by the persistent treat of the neighbouring nomads and his trouble-making nephews.²¹⁹

In the Dumbarton Oaks collection, there is a well-known seal from the former Zacos collection (DO 55.1.2198) probably belonging to Vsevolod (1078–1093). The seal reads Andreas ἄρχων πάσης Ρωσίας, but does not mention a Slavic name.²²⁰ Vsevolod was honored with the epitheton "Tykhii" (Silent, Peaceful).

Although as a rule, Vsevolod's seals are found in the regions of Kyiv and Chernihiv, single specimens have also been discovered in Smolensk, Polotsk, Beloozersk and Starye Kotlitsy, Murom district, Vladimir region in Russia.²²¹

²¹⁷ SEIBT, *Dobronega*; KAZHDAN, *Marriages* 416–417.

²¹⁸ In this time the bishop of Pereyaslav was promoted to the rank of titular metropolitan.

²¹⁹ PSRL I 149,160–163, 166, 167, 170–174, 181–183, 199–208, 214, 215–216; PSRL II 151–152, 156–157, 160, 162–164, 171–172, 190, 192, 194–197, 207; NPL 18. Cf. LMA VIII 1876–1877 (K. BRÜGGEMANN, 2. Vsevolod Jaroslavič).

²²⁰ DOSeals I 85.1; YANIN – GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печати III* 22a.

²²¹ GAIDUKOV – YANIN, 2001, 182, no. 18–3.

Vsevolod-Andreas Yaroslavych

TYPE 4

k) eleventh boulloterion

11. VP-74.



l) twelfth boulloterion

12. VP-891.



m) thirteenth boulloterion

13. VP-367.



n) fourteenth boulloterion

14. VP-371.



3. Volodymyr-Basileios Monomach

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-470.

Publ.:

Alf'orov, Καταλογ 11.

Dimensions:D. 25.5×24 mm. D₂. 24 mm.

H. 2.5 mm. W. 9.7 g.

Two holes on top.

Find-spot:

Kyiv oblast'.

Analogies (or similar pieces):

- a) Private collection (found in Kyiv oblast');
- b) Private collection of Maksym Makarchuk (Rivne).

Publ.:

- a) GAIDUKOV – YANIN 1998, 25a;
- b) Unpublished.



Page 236

Obv. Bust of St. Basileios with a pointed beard, blessing (r. hand) and holding the Gospels (l. hand). Inscription: Ο|Α|Γ|Ι|Ο|Σ – Ρ|Ι|C|Ι|Λ|Ι|: Ὁ ἅγιος Β[α]σίλ(ει)(ος): *Saint Basileios*.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ΚΕ̅Ρ̅Θ,
ΤΩCΩΔΗ,
ΡΑCΙΛΙΩ
ΡΛΑΔΙΜΕΡ
ΤΩΜΟΝ .
.. Χ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λω)
Βασίλ(ει)ῳ Βλαδιμέρ(ῳ) τῷ
Μον[ομά]χ(ῳ).
+ *Lord aid your servant Basileios-Volodymyr Monomach.*

Border of dots.

Date:

XIth c., ca.
last quarter.

Commentary:

This seal certainly belonged to Volodymyr Monomach, son of Vsevolod Yaroslavych and Monomachaina, born in 1053. After assuming the command of several towns, he became velyky kniaz' of Kyiv 1113–1125. Around 1074 he married Gyða Haraldsdottir, the daughter of Harold Godwinsson, the last Anglo-Saxon king of England. The offspring of this marriage, Mstyslav-Feodor-Harald, born in 1076, was the future Grand Prince of Kyiv (1125–1132).

On this type of seal, Volodymyr features neither as archon nor megas archon, so we are inclined to date it relatively early in his career.

The surname Monomach is also present on a seal found in Novgorod with the Greek legend: Σφραγὶς Βασιλείου τοῦ πανευγενεστάτου ἄρχοντος Ρωσίας τοῦ Μονομάχου.²²² Πανευγενέστατος ἄρχων constitutes apparently a more superior version of the title εὐγενεστάτη ἀρχόντισσα featured on the seal of Maria (Dobronega).²²³

²²² Cf. YANIN, *Актовые печати* I, no. 25.

²²³ Cf. SEIBT, Dobronega.

b) second boulloterion

2. VP-837.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 28×30 mm. D₂. 22 mm.
H. 4 mm. W. 19.5 g. The
channel of the seal runs
from 1 to 6 h. Outbreaks at
both ends of the channel.

Find-spot:

Kovchyn village, Kulykivka
district, Chernihiv oblast'.

Analogies:

Private collection.

Publ.:

ЗНУКОВ, Владимир
МОНОМАХ, 46; BUTYRSKII –
ОРЕТСКАЯ, Запечатлевшие
историю, 98.



Obv. Bust of St. Basileios with a long
beard, blessing (r. hand) and hold-
ing the Gospels (l. hand). Inscrip-
tion: Θ|Ρ|Α – .Ι|Δ|: Ο ἅγιος
Βα[σ]ίλειος: *Saint Basileios*.
Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of four lines:

— . —
+ ΚΕΡ,Θ,
ΤΩΣΩΔΗ
ΛΩΡΑCΙ
ΛΕΙΩ
— × —

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ
Βασιλείῳ.
+ *Lord aid your servant Basileios*.
Border of dots.



Page 236

Date:

XIth c.,
second half.

Commentary:

The boulloterion was of good quality. The ornament under the legend is destroyed. If the seal belonged to a Rus' Kniaz', he had probably the Christian name Basileios. There were surely more kniaz's who come into consideration, perhaps Volodymyr Monomach would be first choice.

c) *third boulloterion*

3. VP-657.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 26×28 mm. D₂. 23 mm.

H. 4 mm. W. 11.4 g.

Outbreaks at both ends of the channel. Corroded.



Page 237

Find-spot:

Brovary district, Kyiv oblast'.

Analogies (or similar pieces):

The Hermitage Museum,

Numismatic Dept. 5452;

Private collection of

V. Kesarijskij (found in

Novgorod).

Obv. Bust of St. Basileios, blessing (r. hand) and holding the Gospels (l. hand). Inscription: . RIA - .|.|. : [Ο ἄγιος] Βασίλειος]: *Saint Basileios*.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

·:·K̄. RO
HΘITOCO
NΔVΛO
NCVRA
CIAI

+ Κ(ύρι)[ε] βοήθ(ει) τὸ(ν) σὸν
δ(ο)ῦλόν σ(ο)υ Βασίλ(ει)(ον).

+ *Lord aid your servant Basileios.*

Border of dots.

Date:

ca. second

half XIth –

early XIIth c.

Publ.:

YANIN – GAIDUKOV,

Актовые печати III 38a.

Commentary:

This boulloterion was cut by a less proficient craftsman. The seal contains some blunders and was probably struck in the Rus'. It probably belonged to a Rus' kniaz', perhaps Volodymyr Monomach.

d) fourth boulloterion

4. VP-36.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 27.5×31 mm.
D₂. 21 mm. H. 4 mm.
W. 20 g. The channel of
the seal runs from 1 to 6 h.
Outbreaks at both ends
of the channel. Corroded.
There is a graffiti-line
around the seal (reverse).

Find-spot:

Demydiv village, Vyshhorod district, Kyiv oblast'.

Analogies:

Novgorod State United
Museum Preserve 33656-
1 (found in Novgorod).

Publ.:

YANIN – GAIDUKOV,
Актовые печати III 38b.



Page 237

Obv. Pressed figure of a bust of St. Basileios, blessing (r. hand) and holding the Gospels (l. hand). Inscription: . RIA – CHIA: [Θ ἄ(γιος)] Βασίλ(ειος): *Saint Basileios*.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

∴ΚΕ
ΡΩΙΘΙΤΩ
CΩΔΗΛΩ
RACIALIO

—

+ K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ
Βασιλ(είῳ).

+ Lord aid your servant Basileios.

Border of dots.

Date:

second half
XIth – early
XIIth c.

Commentary:

The craftsman who cut this boulloterion in the Rus' was not well trained with letters in Greek. The result is a seal with somehow "provincial" character.

Volodymyr-Basileios Monomach

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-470.



b) second boulloterion

2. VP-837.



c) third boulloterion

3. VP-657.



d) fourth boulloterion

4. VP-36.



e) *fifth boulloterion*

5. VP-1066.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**D. 25×26 mm. D₂. 21 mm.

H. 3.5 mm. W. 11.3 g.

The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Olshana village, Ichnia district, Chernihiv oblast'.



Page 244

Obv. Bust of St. Basileios with a pointed beard (similar to the seal of Volodymyr), blessing (r. hand) and holding the Gospels (l. hand). Inscription: . |B|A|C|I-.|. .| .| .: [O ἄγιος] Βασί[λειος]: *Saint Basileios*. Probably there was a small siglum ⊙ at the beginning.

Border of dots.**Rev.** Inscription of four lines:

·:·ΚΕΡΩ
·ΘΙΤΩΩ
ΔΕΛΩΡΑ
CΥΛΙΩ
×

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(ο)[(ή)]θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ
Βασ(ι)λ(ει)ῳ.

+ *Lord aid your servant Basileios.*

Border of dots.**Date:**

last third of
the XIth –
early XIIth c.

Commentary:

The die cutter of this boulloterion was better trained, though he made more spelling mistakes as usual; he probably wrote RΩΙΘΙ and RACΥΛΙΩ or even RACΥΛΙΘ. The ornament under the legend (an X with dots in the quarters), which was popular in the second half of the XIth century, is unusually magnified.

Apart from two seals with Greek inscriptions mentioning their owner Basileios-Volodymyr Monomach found in Novgorod Gorodyshe and Kyiv oblast', there are two groups of seals with the representation of St. Basileios and the inscription "Lord help your servant Basileios", written in Greek and Cyrillic. According to V. L. Yanin, the seal which mentions the title archon, found in Gorodyshe, should be dated to the 1070s²²⁴ while seals with Cyrillic inscriptions reflect the late stage of Volodymyr's career.²²⁵

It is beneficial to look into the distribution of these groups of seals. In addition to the above-mentioned seals with Greek inscription there is a group of seals with a similar inscription (which for various reasons were not included in this catalogue), which too are found in Volodymyr

²²⁴ But it could well be later, even from the time as prince of Kyiv, after his father's death.

²²⁵ YANIN, *Актовые печати* I 16–19, no. 25.

(VP-596), Shumsk (VP-659), Teofipol' district, Khmel'nyts'k oblast' (VP-617), Obukhiv district and Kyiv oblast' (VP-901).

Seals with Cyrillic inscription were found in Volyns'ka oblast' (VP-959, 960), Zvenyhorod, Pustomyty district, Lviv oblast',²²⁶ Berezhiv, Slavutsk district, Khmel'nyts'k oblast' (VP-663), Shepetivka district, Khmel'nyts'k oblast' (VP-104), Horods'ke, Korostyshiv district, Zhytomyr oblast' (VP-105), Bil'kivtsi, Korostyshiv district, Zhytomyr oblast' (VP-3), Stryzhivka, Korostyshiv district, Zhytomyr oblast' (VP-123), Soloviivka, Brusyliv district, Zhytomyr oblast' (VP-1057), Volytsia, Andrushivka district, Zhytomyr oblast' (VP-26), Zhytomyr oblast' (VP-704, 1036), Bilohorodka, Kyivo-Sviatoshyn district, Kyiv oblast',²²⁷ Novosilky, Kyivo-Sviatoshyn district, Kyivs'ka oblast' (VP-1), Vyshhorod, Vyshhorod district, Kyivs'ka oblast',²²⁸ Kyiv (VP-1077),²²⁹ Kyiv oblast',²³⁰ Peryaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyi, Kyiv oblast',²³¹ Rusaniv, Brovary district, Kyiv oblast',²³² Bykov, Kyivo-Sviatoshyn district, Kyiv oblast' (VP-522), Chernihiv,²³³ Horodyshche, Sumy oblast', Kerch, Crimean oblast'.²³⁴ Moreover, eleven seals of Monomach's, with Cyrillic inscriptions, were found in Novgorod, two in Riurikovo Gorodishche, four in Belozersk (Beloozero), one at Gavrylo-Posad district of Ivanovo oblast', one in Rostov, Yaroslav oblast', two in Staraya Ladoga in RF, one at Menka, Minsk oblast' in Belarus.²³⁵

Volodymyr was born in 1053. He ruled Rostov (1066–1073), Smolensk (1073–1078), Chernihiv (1078–1094), Pereiaslav (1094–1113) and Kyiv (1113–1125). In 1076 his father transferred him from Smolensk to Chernihiv which led to hostilities with Oleh Sviatoslavych who considered Chernihiv as a holding of his own. Volodymyr's activities can be divided into three main categories: control over the western part of the Rus' land, particularly over the city of Volodymyr (raids/agreements in 1084, 1085, 1087, 1099, 1117–1118), struggles against the Torks (1080, 1121) and the Polovtsians (1093, 1095, 1101, 1103, 1107, 1109–1111, 1113), and hegemony over the Danube region (1095, 1116).²³⁶ The very large number of Volodymyr's seals (if indeed all the specimens mentioning a Basileios were his) and the wide geographical spread of the findings, reflect the unusually active political life of this kniaz'.

²²⁶ Idid, no. 104.

²²⁷ Idid, no. 100.

²²⁸ Idid, no. 102a, 105.

²²⁹ Idid, no. 78a, 97, 99, 101–5, 102, 103b, 106, 108.

²³⁰ Idid, no. 101, 107-2.

²³¹ Idid, no. 101a

²³² YANIN – GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печати* III, no. 101–7.

²³³ YANIN – GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печати* III, no. 98–2.

²³⁴ YANIN – GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печати* III, no. 97a.

²³⁵ GAIDUKOV – YANIN, 2005, 143; YANIN, *Актовые печати* I 170, 187–189; GAIDUKOV – YANIN, 1998 116–117; KIRPICHNIKOV – BILETSKI 31, 9, 49.

²³⁶ PSRL I, 160, 199, 204, 205, 217, 219–220, 226–231, 239–251, 256–258, 262–264 273, 275, 277, 282, 284, 290–291, 293–295; PSRL II, 149, 190, 196, 197–198, 210, 215–216, 219–221, 230, 248–256, 258–260, 264–268, 273, 276, 280–286, 289. Cf. LMA VIII 1794–1796 (K. BRÜGGEMANN, 3. Vladimir Vsevolodovič Monomach).

4. Mstyslav, megas archon of Rosia

TYPE 1

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-289.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 24×25 mm. H. 4 mm. W. 13.5 g. Blank too small for the die. Corroded. Poorly printed on the sides.

Analogy:

Institute of Archeology of the National Academy of Science of Ukraine (found in v. Bilhorodka, Kyiv o.).

Publ.:

YANIN, *Актовые печати* I 31.

2. VP-285.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 25×27 mm. H. 4 mm. W. 12.4 g. Blank too small for the die. Corroded.



Find-spot:

between Mamekyne village and Smiach village, Novhorod-Sivers'kyi district, Chernihiv oblast'.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

. ΜΕCI
.. ΑΡΟC
.. ΙΑCΑΡ
ΧΩΝΡΩCΙ
-ΑC-

[+] Μεσί[θλ.]αβος [μέ]γας ἄρχων Ρωσίας.

+ Mstyslav, velykyi kniaz' of Rosia.

Border of dots.

Date:

probably c.
1030–1036.

Obv. Bust of a bearded man with long hair, probably without a nimbus, dressed in the imperial chlamys with a tablion (but without a crown or pendilia), holding a long cross in his right hand. The gesture of his left hand is unclear. Perhaps there are traces of letters which may have formed an inscription. If indeed the seal did not depict a nimbus, this could have been the portrait of kniaz' Mstyslav himself, since it resembles the portrayal of emperors in coins. Yanin had identified the bust with St. Andreas (because of the cross).

Border of dots.

Commentary:

In contrast to the vast majority of princely seals in Byzantine tradition, the name after the invocation appears in nominative instead of the dative. Μέγας ἄρχων most probably corresponds with the velykyi kniaz' of Kyiv.

Yanin attributed the parallel piece to Mstyslav Vsevolodovych, who was the kniaz' of Smolensk ca. in 1103–1113.²³⁷ Sviatopolk Iziaslavych had a son, Mstyslav, who died in 1109 as the kniaz' of Volhynia.

Mstyslav Iziaslavych is an unlikely candidate for this seal, since, although he was master of Kyiv for a short period before his death around 1170, he lived in a later period.

²³⁷ YANIN, *Актовые печати* I, no. 31.

1. VP-289.



2. VP-285.



The seal could have belonged to Mstyslav, the son of Volodymyr Vsevolodovych Monomach, who was kniaz' of Novgorod in 1088–1117 and Velykyi kniaz' of Kyiv 1125–1132. Mstyslav Harold was born in 1076 as the eldest son of Volodymyr Monomach and Gyđa (the daughter of Harold Godwinsson, the last Anglo-Saxon king of England). His Christian name was Theodoros / Fedor. He ruled Novgorod in 1095–1117, Bilhorod in 1117–1125, and finally (after his father's death) Kyiv in 1125–1132.

The most probable owner of the seal is Mstyslav, the son of Volodymyr Sviatoslavych, who died 1036 as the kniaz' of Chernihiv. Even when his father was alive, Mstyslav owned Tmutorokan. From our point of view, the seal of Mstyslav is similar to that of Yaroslav the Wise, same title, same concept.

TYPE 2

b) second boulloterion

3. VP-1187.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**

D. 24.5×27.5 mm.
 D₂. 20 mm. H. 3 mm.
 W. 12.4 g. The channel
 of the seal runs from
 1 to 6 h. Corroded, hit.

Find-spot:

Vyhurychi village, Luts'k
 district, Volyn' oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) unknow (found
 in Stupnitsa);
 b) unknow (found in Kyiv).

Publ.:

- a) HRUSHEVS'KYI, Печатка
 з Ступниці 1-4; YANIN,
 Актовые печати I 33,1;
 b) LIKHACHEV, Материалы
 I 81; YANIN, Актовые
 печати I 33,2.



Page 244

Obv. Bust of St. Konstantinos with a crown (and pendilia), dressed in the loros, with a long cross in his r. hand, his left hand is perhaps placed in front of his chest. The inscription starts unusually on the right side and continues on the left, probably: Θ|Κ|Ω|Ν|Ι|Σ – Α|Ν|Τ|; Ὁ ἅγιος Κωνσταντῖνος: *Saint Konstantinos.*

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΚΕΡΟ
 ΗΘΕΙΤΩ
 ΣΩΔΗΛ,
 ΚΩΝ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλ(ῳ)
 Κων(σταντίνῳ).

+ *Lord aid your servant Konstantinos.*

Border of dots.

Date:
 probably
 c. 1030–
 1036.

Commentary:

Yanin proposed (with a question mark) an identification with Ihor Yaroslavych, kniaz' of Volhynia in 1054–1057 and of Smolensk in 1057–1060. Likhachev proposed Konstantyn Volodymyrovych. It seems that he was right. Nearly identical to this seal is a coin of kniaz' Kostiantyn Volodymyrovych²³⁸.

²³⁸ ВАБАЕВ, Монеты Тмутаракани 74–78.

c) third boulloterion

4. VP-1608.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 33×35 mm. D₂. 21.5 mm.
H. 4 mm. W. 20 g.
The channel of the seal
runs from 1 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.



Page 245

5. VP-1607.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 26 mm. D₂. 21.5 mm.
H. 4 mm. W. 16.3 g.
The channel of the seal
runs from 1 to 7 h. Hit.

Find-spot:

Dorohobuzh village,
Hoshcha district,
Chernihiv oblast'.



Page 245

Obv. A better preserved bust of St. Konstantinos, the emperor Constantinus Magnus, bearing a crown on the head (with a cross in the center) and pendilia, dressed in an imperial loros, with a long cross in his right hand, and the left one in front of the chest, perhaps with an akakia. The inscription starts again on the right in a kind of circumscription, with some of its letters being misrepresented, perhaps: $\Theta|\bar{\kappa}\omega|\bar{\zeta}-\zeta|\bar{\eta}|\bar{\nu}$: $\bar{\omicron}$ ἄγιος) $\bar{\kappa}\omega(\nu)\sigma(\tau\alpha\nu)\tau(\bar{\iota})\nu(\omicron\varsigma)$: Saint Konstantinos.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

Some letters on the reverse side are also distorted (though well cut), mistakes include: h instead of R in the first line, O instead of Θ in the second, and E instead of C in the third. The die cutter had misunderstood his assignment. Much as the above seal, this one certainly belonged to the same Constantine, though this type is probably slightly later in date.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\eta}\bar{o}$
 $\bar{h}\bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}$
 $\bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\psi}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\Lambda}$
 $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$

+ $\bar{\kappa}(\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota)\epsilon(\beta)\sigma\acute{\eta}(\theta)\epsilon\iota\tau\bar{\omega}(\sigma)\bar{\alpha}\delta\acute{o}\upsilon\lambda(\omega)$
 $\bar{\kappa}\omega\nu(\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omega)$.

+ Lord aid your servant Konstantinos.

Border of dots.

Date:

probably
c. 1030–
1036.

Volodymyr-Basileios Monomach

e) fifth boulloterion

5. VP-1066.



Mstyslav, megas archon of Rosia

TYPE 2

b) second boulloterion

3. VP-1187.



Mstyslav, megas archon of Rosia

TYPE 2

c) third boulloterion

4. VP-1608.



5. VP-1607.



2. Princes/ Kniaz

1. Viacheslav-Merkourios Yaroslavych, archon Rusias (kniaz' of Smolens'k)

VP-300.

Publ.:

ΑΛΦ'ΟΡΟΝ, Καταλογ 7.

Dimensions:

D. 25×28 mm. D₂. 20 mm.
H. 3 mm. W. 16 g.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.



Obv. Bust of St. Merkurios with a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand), dressed in the chiton over the armour. The curly hairstyle is similar to that of St. Georgios. Vertical inscriptions: Θ|Μ|Ε|Ρ – Κ|Υ|ΡΙ: Ὁ ἅγιος Μερκούρι(ος): *Saint Merkurios*.

St. Merkurios (of Kaisareia), a military officer, was decapitated in the reign of Decius. Though he is venerated in the Eastern Church as one of its most popular martyrs, he is rarely represented on Byzantine seals.²³⁹

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ΚΕΡΘ
ΜΕΡΚΥΡΙ
ΩΡΧΟΝ
ΤΗΣΡΟΥ
ΧΑΪ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Μερκουρίω
ἄρχον(τι) τῆς Ρουσ(ι)ας.
+ *Lord aid Merkurios, archon of Rusia.*

Border of dots.

Date:

1054–1057.

Commentary:

Perhaps the T in line 4 is to be interpreted as haplography: ἄρχον(ι) τῆς. There is another type of seal struck for this prince, reading: + Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ) Μερκουρίῳ τ(ῷ) Βεντεσολάβῳ.

Both types belong to Viacheslav, the youngest son of Yaroslav, who was born in 1036 and baptized as Merkurios. After his father's death (1054) he became the kniaz' of Smolensk, but soon passed away, in 1057.

²³⁹ Cf. e.g. JORDANOV, *Corpus* II 368–369 (seal of Gregorios Kourkouas proedros).



2. Oleh-Michael Sviatoslavych, archon and dux

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-480.



Publ.:

Alf'orov, A seal of Michael 97–98, fig. 1.

Dimensions:

D. 32 mm. D₂ 28 mm.
H. 4 mm. W. 20.9 g. Blank too small for the die.
The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

bed of a dry rivulet near Novomoskovsk city, Novomoskovsk district, Dnipropetrovsk oblast'.

Obv. Full-length standing figure of archistrategos Michael wearing armor looking like a klibanion (lamellar armor). His cloak is clasped with a brooch in the middle of the chest, and falls down behind from the shoulders. His right hand bears a naked sword raised upwards and turned to the side. His left hand holds a stone-decorated scabbard at the waist, held to the side of the thigh, thus giving the impression that the blade (paramerion) has been just taken out of it. The Archangel's wings are supple. A quite small figure (with a relatively big head) kneels at the archistrategos' left foot (in proskynesis). On either side of St. Michael there is a vertical inscription: X|OΔ|P|X|MI – O|X|○|NI|AT,;: ὁ ἀρχ(άγγελος) Μιχαήλ ὁ Χ(ω)νιάτ(ης): Archangel Michael Choniates.²⁴⁰

Border of dots.

²⁴⁰ A similar figure of St. Michael, also with the epitheton Ὁ Χονιάτ(ης) is found e. g. on a seal in Bulgaria. The reverse legend reads: ΑΣΩΜΑΤΕ Β(οή) Θ(ει) Γρηγόρ(ιον) βέστην τ(ὸν) Κόκ(κον). I. JORDANOV, Corpus Addenda I. Numizmatika, sfragistika i epigrafika 7 (2011) 193–194, no. 410 A; pl. 37, no. 6. The archangel was especially venerated in Chonai where he had performed a famous miracle.

2. VP-874.



Publ.:

Gaidukov – Yanin 1998, 28a; Alf'orov, A seal of Michael 98–99, fig. 2.

Dimensions:

D. 32×27 mm. H. 2.5 mm.
W. 13.2 g. Blank too small for die.



Find-spot:

In the vicinity of Chernihiv city, Chernihiv district, Chernihiv oblast'.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

Date:
1083.

~ ~ ~
+ΚΕΡΟΗΘ,
ΤΩΩΔΗΛ,
ΜΙΧΔΗΛΔΡ
ΧΟΝΤΙΣΔΟΝ
ΚΑΜΑΤΡΑΧ
ΠΑΧΗΧΑΣΔΑ
–ΡΙΑΣ–

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω)
Μιχαήλ ἄρχοντι (καὶ) δούκα
Ματράχ(ων) πάσης Χαζαρίας.
+ Lord aid your servant Michael,
archon and dux of Matracha (and)
all of Chazaria.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

This boulloterion was of the highest quality, surely cut by a gifted die cutter in Constantinople, shortly before Oleh's departure to Tmutorokan in 1083, but used only for a short time.

The legend is closely connected with another well-known one, where Michael is called ἄρχων Ματράχ(ων) Ζιχίας καὶ πάσης Χαζαρί(ας).²⁴¹ The main difference is that the latter does not mention the dignity of the dux. A seal, dated slightly earlier than Michael's archontate in Matracha, bears the legend Nikephoros Alanos, bestarches and katepano of Kherson and Khazaria, and informs us about a Byzantine overlordship of Khazaria. This Khazaria was often identified with the territory of Crimea, north of the mountains, but this hypothesis remains open to question. If in 1060/1080 this Byzantine Khazaria was almost identical with Oleh's Khazaria shortly after his return to Matracha (1083)²⁴² and with the bishopric of Atel, it may have been on lower Don.²⁴³ The common term of dux does not by itself qualify Oleh as a Byzantine official in full service of the emperor. It should be underlined that Oleh did not mention any Byzantine title. We can perhaps assume that at least for some time Alexios Komnenos regarded Oleh as one of his "vassals".²⁴⁴

Page 250-251



²⁴¹ We already know of eight similar specimens. Cf. YANIN, *Актовые печати* I 29; STEPANOVA 129–130; BULGAKOVA, *Osteuropa* 238–241, no 3.2.1.2; eadem, *Sigillografičeskij kompleks. Sugdejskij sbornik* 3 (2008) 321–322; CHKHAIDZE, *Хазария* 10–11; ZUCKERMAN, *Pontus* 313.

²⁴² The emphasis *πάσης Χαζαρίας* is no proof of a more spacious territory. As in the case of Byzantium, many dignitaries displayed a certain *megalomania* in this period.

²⁴³ Cf. SEIBT, *Επίσκοπος τῆς Ἀτέλου*.

²⁴⁴ Perhaps he returned to Matracha with the assistance of the Byzantine army.

PRINCES

OLEH-MICHAEL SVIATOSLAVYCH, ARCHON AND DUX

a) *first boulloterion*



1. VP-480.





2. VP-874.



b) second boulloterion

3. VP-1576.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 23×18 mm. H. 3 mm.

W. 3.9 g. Half of the seal. The channel of the seal runs from 10 to 6 h. Rev. rotated by 45°.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.

Analogies:

Private collection, Ukraine (found in c. Novhorod-Sivers'kyi).

Publ.:

ЗНУКОВ, Вислые 5.



Obv. Full-length standing figure of the archangel Michael dressed in the imperial loros, with a long cross-sceptre in his right hand and a globus cruciger in his left.

Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

—.—
+ΚΕΡΟΗΘ...
·ΟΝΔΘΛ...
·ΙΧΑΗΛΑΡΧ·
·ΝΤΗCΡ·
ΑC—

Date:

end of the
XIth – early
XIIth c.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ[ει τ]ὸν δοῦλ[όν σου
Μ]ιχαήλ ἄρχ[οντα]ν τῆς Ρ[ωσ(ί)]ας.
+ Lord aid your servant Michael archon
Rosias.



Commentary:

The legend is only partially readable but can be reconstructed with the assistance of the parallel piece. In this case, an accusative follows the verb βοήθει, instead of the more common dative. Ἄρχονταν is a spelling mistake for ἄρχοντα. It is not clear whether we should read Ρωσίας or Ροσίας. Oleh could have used this boulloterion in Tmutorokan but also later in the territory of Chernihiv.

c) *third boulloterion*

4. VP-1570

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 22×24.5 mm.

D₂. 19 mm. H. 5 mm.

W. 11.7 g. Cut with
a sharp object, corroded.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.

Analogies

(*another boulloterion*):

Private collection
of L. Reznik, Kyiv (found
in Kyiv or Kyiv district).

Publ.:

YANIN — GAIDUKOV,
Актовые печати III 29a.



Obv. Full-length standing figure of the archistrategos Michael wearing armor and resembling a Byzantine general. In his right hand he holds a long cross-sceptre, and in his left a globe, perhaps cruciger. The sigla are lost.
Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ΚΕ . .
ΜΙΧΑΗΛ
ΤΩΜΑΤ
ΑΡΧΩ

Date:

end of the
XIth c.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε [β(οή)θ(ει)] Μιχαήλ τῷ
Ματάρχῳ.

+ *Lord aid your servant Michael Matar-
chos.*

Border of dots.



Commentary:

The ending of the legend is problematic. At first sight it looks like a sur-name, Matarchos. If one reads τῷ Ματάρχῳ(ν) it could mean the archon of Matracha, though this title is usually borne by bishops and there is no sign of an abbreviation at the end of the legend. A haplography for τῷ Ματάρχῳ(ν) ἄρχ(ο)(ντι) would be even less likely. Probably Oleh used this type of seal (and the following one) when he was the archon of Matracha, albeit for some special purpose. Perhaps this seal dates before 1083.

d) fourth boulloterion

5. VP-342.



Unpublished

Find-spot:
Chernihiv oblast'.

Dimensions:
D. 24×24.5 mm.
D₂. 20 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 10.7 g. Corroded.

6. VP-1571



Unpublished.

Find-spot:
Bilovezhi Druhi village,
Borzna district,
Chernihiv oblast'.

Dimensions:
D. 20.5×22.5 mm.
D₂. 20 mm. H. 4.5 mm.
W. 10.7 g. Corroded.

Analopies :

- a) Private collection,
Kursk, RF (found in
Briansk oblast');
- b) Private collection (found
in Chernihiv oblast').

Publ.:

- a) GAIDUKOV – YANIN
2005, 296;
- b) ЗНУКОВ, Вислые 4.

Obv. Full-length standing figure of the
archistrategos Michael, as on the third
boulloterion.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines (a mirror
image):

Date:
end of the
XIth century.

⋯
+ΚΕΒΘ
ΛΗΑΧΙΜ
ΤΑΜΩΓ
ΥΡΑ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Μιχαήλ τῷ
Ματάρχῳ.
+ Lord aid your servant Michael Matar-
chos.
Border of dots.

Commentary:

The legend copies the former one, though retrograde and with some
incompetence. It is later in date than the above seal.

5. VP-342.



6. VP-1571



e) fifth boulloterion

7. VP-1572

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**

D. 23.5 mm. D₂. 19 mm.
H. 3.5 mm. W. 10.7 g.
Corroded.

Find-spot:

Zelenyi Hai village, Sumy district, Sumy oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) Private collection, Moscow, RF (found in Briansk oblast');
- b) Private collection, Moscow, RF (found in Ukraine);
- c) Private collection, Moscow, RF (found in Ukraine);
- d) Private collection, Moscow, RF (found in Ukraine);
- e) Private collection, Moscow, RF (found in Ukraine);
- f) Private collection, Moscow, RF (found in Ukraine);
- g) Private collection, Moscow, RF (found in Briansk oblast', RF);
- h) Private collection, Moscow, RF (found in Ukraine).



Obv. Full-length standing figure of the archangel Michael, probably dressed in the imperial loros, with a long cross-scepter in his right hand and a globe in his left. Inscription: **M – X:** Μ(ι)χ(α)ήλ: *Michael*.

Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ΚΕΡΘ
ΤΩΣΩΔΛ,
ΜΙΧΑΗ
–Δ–

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ
δ(ού)λ(ῳ) Μιχαήλ.
+ *Lord aid your servant Michael.*
Border of dots.

Date:

last third of
the XIth –
early XIIth c.

Commentary:

Attributing all these seals to the same person, Oleh-Mykhailo Sviatoslavych, kniaz' of Tmutorokan (1078–1079, 1083–1094), Chernihiv (1094–1096) and Novhorod-Sivers'kyi (1097–1115), constitutes a hypothesis.²⁴⁵ If Matarchos (third and fourth boulloterion) is simply a surname indicating the origin of this man, this Michael could be a different person from Oleh.²⁴⁶ We prefer to attribute this seal to Oleh though. It is remarkable that the seals of the third and fourth boulloterion stem from Chernihiv oblast', but the one of the fifth boulloterion from Sumy district.²⁴⁷

A considerable part of Oleh's life was dedicated to fighting for his rights to obtain a share of his father's dominion. After Sviatoslav's death in 1076 the Chernihiv's seat was given to Borys Viacheslavych (1054–1077). One year later, the seat was taken by kniaz' Vsevolod Yaroslavych. Both Borys and Oleh had moved to Tmutorokan and then returned to Chernihiv with an army of Polovtsians. They were defeated, however, at the Nezhatyna Battle against the joint forces of Vsevolod Yaroslavych and Volodymyr Vsevolodych. Iziaslav and Borys lost their lives while Oleh managed to escape to Tmutorokan in 1078. After the establishment of Vsevolod in Kyiv, his son Volodymyr Monomach received the seat of Chernihiv. To secure stability in Rus', Vsevolod, most probably, arranged both the physical and political isolation of Oleh. The latter was captured by "Khazars" and sent as a captive to Constantinople. To replace Oleh in Tmutorokan, in 1079 Vsevolod installed his deputy named Ratybor. After a two-year isolation on the island of Rhodos, Oleh returned to Tmutorokan in 1083.²⁴⁸ His return coincided with the oc-

²⁴⁵ RAFFENSPERGER, *Ties of Kinship* 66, tables 6 and 10.

²⁴⁶ Cf. ШКХАИДЗЕ, Печати 49–51, no 16 (with bibliography).

²⁴⁷ Perhaps this one should be separated from the other ones.

²⁴⁸ Probably during his sojourn in the Byzantine Empire Oleh married the daughter of a Byzantine aristocrat, Theophano Mouzalonissa, who later used a seal as archontissa Rosias; cf. no. III.3.2.



cupation of Tmutorokan by Davyd Ihorovych and Volodar Rostyslavych whom Oleh banished from the city.

In 1094, Oleh launched a new raid against Volodymyr in Chernihiv. This resulted in his installation on the the seat of Chernihiv for a short time. The stability of Oleh's regime was based largely on his good relations with the Polovtsians. He, therefore, did not participate in the joined military actions of the Rus'ian princes against them in 1096, which caused him new troubles with the kniaz' Sviatopolk Iziaslavych and Volodymyr Monomach. In 1096 Oleh was forced to leave Chernihiv for Starodub. He had made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Smolensk and was compelled to go to Riazan. In the same year, he conducted a raid against Iziaslav Volodymyrovych at Murom, since the city had belonged to the dominion of Oleh's father. The military clash led to Iziaslav's death and the spread of Oleh's authority over Murom and Rostov's lands. He also had earnest plans to gain Novgorod but lost the city to his nephew, Mstyslav Volodymyrovych. The princes reached an agreement at Liubech in 1097, Oleh received a part of his father's dominion in the Chernihiv land, which was divided between him and his elder brother Davyd. Novhorod-Sivers'kyi became Oleh's new centre.²⁴⁹

In 1107, Oleh took part in a joint raid of Rus' princes against the Polovtsians. The hostilities ceased with a peaceful agreement and Oleh married his son to one of the daughters of the Polovtsian khan. Oleh died in 1115 in Novhorod-Sivers'kyi.²⁵⁰

Publ.:

- a) GAIDUKOV – YANIN 2001, 38A;
- b) GAIDUKOV – YANIN 2005, 38A-2;
- c) GAIDUKOV – YANIN 2005, 38A-3;
- d) GAIDUKOV – YANIN 2005, 38A-4;
- e) GAIDUKOV – YANIN 2005, 38A-5;
- f) GAIDUKOV – YANIN 2005, 38A-6;
- g) GAIDUKOV – YANIN 2005, 38A-7;
- h) GAIDUKOV – YANIN 2008, 38A-8.

²⁴⁹ Perhaps the Byzantine emperor was asked to mediate for a fair division of Chernihiv's dominion. The emperor probably dispatched Nikolaos Zouneras, judge of Thrake and Makedonia, for this task to the Rus'. Cf. SEIBT – HULECKI – TIGUNTSEV.

²⁵⁰ PSRL I 199–201, 204–205, 226, 229, 236–240, 256–257, 277, 282–283, 290; II 190–193, 196, 216–217, 221, 228–230, 248, 253, 258–259, 276, 280–281.

3. Davyd Ihorovych, archon Rosias

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-1600.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 19.5×25.5 mm.
D₂. 21 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 7.9 g.

Find-spot:

Hrushvysia Druha village,
Rivne district, Rivne oblast'.

2. VP-34.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 23×24 mm. H. 4.5 mm.
W. 15.7 g. Hit, holed.
Obverse struck off-center.

Find-spot:

Korostyshiv district,
Zhytomyr oblast'.

3. VP-201.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 22.5×25 mm.
D₂. 21.5 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 11.9 g. Bent, double
blow. Without a channel.
A part of the seal is lost
(obverse top left, reverse
top right). Partially damaged.

Find-spot:

Velyki Huliaky village,
Fastiv district, Kyiv oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) unknown (found in Sasiadka village, Lublin voivodeship, Poland);
- b) Hermitage 5181 (found in Volodymyr c., Volyn' o., Ukraine);
- c) Private collection, Ukraine (found in Crimea, Ukraine);
- d) Private collection, RF (found in Ukraine).

Obv. Full-length standing figure of the Prophet David, the right hand is blessing (or in a gesture of allocution), while the left hand holds a long inscribed roll. Inscription: Ο|ΠΡΟ|ΦΙ|ΤΥ – ΔΑΔ: Ὁ Προφ(ή)τ(ης) Δα(βί)δ: Prophet David. Inscription on the roll: ΕΛΕ|ΗCO|NM|ΕΘ|OC: Ἐλέησόν με Θ(ε)ός: Have mercy on me, Lord.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΚΕΡΘ,
ΤΩCΩΔΥ
ΛΩΔΑΔΑΡ
ΧΟΝΤΙΡΩ
· CΙΑC ·

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ
Δα(βί)δ ἄρχοντι Ρωσίας.
+ Lord aid your servant David, archon
Rosias.

Border of dots.

Publ.:

- a) WARTAŁOWSKA, Sutiejsk 14; YANIN, Актовые печати I 26;
- b) Spasski 3; YANIN – GAIDUKOV, Актовые печати III 26-2;
- c) NECHYTAILO II 63.3;
- d) YANIN – GAIDUKOV, 2005, 26-3.

Davyd Ihorovych, archon Rosias

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-1600.



2. VP-34.



3. VP-201.



b) second boulloterion

4. VP-701.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 22×24 mm.

D₂. 20 mm. H. 4 mm.

W. 9.5 g. Corroded.

The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Yasnohorodka village,
Makariv district, Kyiv oblast¹.



Obv. Full-length standing figure of the Prophet David, probably dressed as a military saint, leaning on a shield with his left hand, holding a spear in his right one. Inscription on either side: Ο|ΠΡ²⁵¹, |ΦΗ|Τ, – ΔΑΔ: Ὁ Πρ(ο)φήτης Δα(βί)δ: Prophet David.

Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΚΕΡ,Θ,
ΤΩΣΩΔΗ
ΛΩΔΑΔΑΡ
ΧΟΝΤ,ΡΩ
ΣΙΑΣ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῶ δούλῳ

Δα(βί)δ ἄρχοντ(ι) Ρωσίας.

+ Lord aid your servant David, archon Rosias.

Border of dots.



²⁵¹ The Rho is inscribed into the Pi – a common ligature, e. g. in the word Πρόδρομος, but not available in Athena Rhuby.

c) *third boulloterion*

5. VP-344.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 28×27.5 mm. D₂. 22 mm.

H. 3.5 mm. W. 17.5 g.

Hit, corroded. The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 7 h (obverse).

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.



Obv. Full-length standing figure of the Prophet David, the right hand probably in a gesture of allocution, the left one holding a roll and a cross. Inscription: . | . . | ΟΦΙ | ΤΙ | Σ – ΔΑ | Δ : [Ὁ Πρ]οφ(ή)τ(η)ς Δα(βί)δ: *Prophet David.*

Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ Κ Ε Ρ, Θ,
.. Δ Θ Λ Ω
... Α Δ Α Ρ
.. Ν Τ Ι ..
. Ι Α Σ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [τῷ] δούλῳ [σου
Δ]α(βί)δ ἄρ[χο]ντι [Ρωσ]ίας.

+ *Lord aid your servant David, archon Rosias.*

No visible border.



d) fourth boulloterion

6. VP-1601.

*Unpublished.**Dimensions:*

D. 24.5×25.5 mm.
 D₂. 20 mm. H. 4 mm.
 W. 15.1 g. Hit.

Find-spot:

Buky village, Skvyra
 district, Kyiv oblast'.

Analogies:

a) unknown (found in
 Sasiadka village, Lublin
 voivodeship, Poland).

Publ.:

a) SOLOVIEV, *Ἀρχων Ῥωσίας*
 240–244, no. 3; YANIN,
Актовые печати I
 27; WARTAŁOWSKA,
Sutiejsk 14.3.



Obv. Full-length standing figure of the Prophet David, blessing (r. hand) and holding a roll (l. hand). Cyrillic inscription: . | A | B | B | I – .: [Д]АВЫ[ДЪ]: *David*.
Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+NĒRO
 TΩCΩΔO
 ΛΩΔΔΔΔ
 ΧΟΙΤΙΩ
 · CIAC ·

+ (K)(ύρι)ε β(οή)(θ)(ει) τῷ σῷ δο(ύ)λω
 Δα(βι)δ ἄ(ρ)χοντ(ι) (P)ωσίας.
 + Lord aid your servant David, archon
 Rosias.

Border of dots.



Page 268

Date:

ca. 1081–1112
 or 1113.

The above legends have been transcribed with some mistakes. The first letter is a N instead of K, and at the end of the first line there is a simple O instead of a Θ. At the end of the second line there is a simple O instead of Ή, at the end of the third line the P of ἄρχοντι was omitted, the N in the fourth line has the retrograde form И, and two letters further we have only an I instead of IP.²⁵² In agreement with the first type, this seal bears the same dots on either side of the last line.

Commentary:

Yanin and Gaidukov attributed these types of seals to “David Igorevich, kniaz’ of Volyn’ (1085–1112)”.²⁵³ The two first types are of a good quality, in the Byzantine manner, the third is a little bit deteriorated, and the fourth has already misunderstood letters of the earlier mode. So the latter two were cut by indigenous die cutters in the Rus’. Another type with the same legend is later in date.

According to Yaroslav’s will, Davyd’s father, Ihor Yaroslavych, got the seat of Volodymyr in 1054, but died shortly after in 1060. At the time of Ihor’s death, Davyd was still very young, only two or three years old, so he could not follow his father directly as prince of Volodymyr. In 1078 the city of Volodymyr was granted to Yaropolk Iziaslavych in connection with the installation of prince Vsevolod Yaroslavych in Kyiv. Perceiving himself as excluded from his father’s legacy, Davyd moved to Tmutorokan in 1081. Two years later, however, he was banished from the city by Oleh Sviatoslavych. Deprived of a share in the Rus’ land, Davyd began to loot Greek merchants in Oleshia in 1084. To prevent further acts of piracy, Vsevolod gave 1085 the town of Dorohobuzh to Davyd. In 1097 he took

²⁵² Perhaps a tall Rho in the pattern was misunderstood as Iota.

²⁵³ YANIN, *Актовые печати I* 171, no. 26–28.

part at the meeting of princes in Liubech where they tried to secure their regional authority based on their father's shares in the Rus' land. Most probably Davyd did not approve of the outcome of this agreement according to which cities of Peremyshl and Terebovl' that had belonged to the Volodymyr land were given to kniaz's Volodar and Vasylo'ko. According to the chronicles Davyd and Sviatopolk Izyaslavych, kniaz' of Kyiv, began to plot against Vasylo'ko. Davyd insisted on the blinding of Vasylo'ko. In 1099 Davyd was banished by Sviatopolk from the city of Volodymyr to the Lekhites. Sviatopolk now planned to capture Volodar's and Vasylo'ko's cities. When Davyd had returned to the Rus', he received military aid from the Polovtsians against Sviatopolk's son Mstyslav (the latter had Hungarian soldiers). The Polovtsians prevailed and Davyd occupied the towns of Sutiisk and Cherven and surrounded the city of Volodymyr. However, under the threat of a newly-arrived Sviatopolk's host, Davyd was forced to seek assistance once more from the Polovtsians. Then he went back and captured the cities of Luts'k and Volodymyr. Next year a princely meeting took place in Uvetych which decided to remove the city of Volodymyr from Davyd. The latter received only the small towns Buzhsk, Duben, Chertoryisk and Dorohobuzh, where he died in 1112 or 1113. He was married with one of the daughters of Wladyslaw-Herman, duke of Poland (1081–1102).²⁵⁴

Perhaps the first boulloterion was cut when Davyd was in Matrycha (1081–1083), the other ones are later in date and the last one probably already from the early XIIth century.

The fourth boulloterion is problematic. While we cannot exclude that it belonged to Davyd Ihorovych, but that is only a hypothesis. The Cyrillic letters on the obverse and the mistakes in the relatively well cut boulloterion could point to a later date respectively a later homonymous. The obverse is similar to the seals of a later Davyd, perhaps Davyd Rostyslavych, though the reverse letters seem to predate this type. Perhaps a Davyd Sviatoslavych, kniaz' of Chernihiv, who died in 1123, may have also been a possible owner.

"We know also of another seal type of a David archon Rosias. The reverse is very near to our first boulloterion, but the obverse has clearly a bust of St. Theodoros. One specimen was already published by Victoria Bulgakova (*Sigillograficheski...*), and two more specimens appeared on the Internet. Perhaps even a damaged seal in the Sheremetiev collection (VP-978) is an additional parallel. If this type belonged also to Davyd Ihorovych, it could have been his earliest one, from the early 1080s."

²⁵⁴ PSRL I 161, 204–205, 257–260, 265–273, 200. Cf. SOLOVIEV, *Ἀρχὸν Ῥωσίας* 242–244.

4. Manuel ὁ τοῦ ἄρχοντος

1. VP-1059.



Referred:
WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2043 a, b.

Dimensions:
D. 16 mm. H. 2.5 mm.
W. 3.2 g. Blank too small
for the die. The channel of
the seal runs from 9 to 3 h.

Find-spot:
Soloviivka village, Brusyliv
district, Zhytomyr oblast'.

2. VP-1632.



Referred:
WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2043 a, b.

Dimensions:
D. 17×16 mm. D₂. 14 mm.
H. 3 mm. W. 4.3 g. Blank
too small for the die. A hole
at the top. The channel of
the seal runs from 10 to 4 h.

Find-spot:
Zhytomyr oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) Novgorod archaeological expedition;
- b) Private collection of Platonov Family (Kyiv).

Publ.:

- a) BULGAKOVA,
Osteuropa 1.5.8-a;
- b) BULGAKOVA,
Osteuropa 1.5.8-b.

Similar seal:

Private collection, Ukraine
(found in Zhytomyr oblast';
another boulloterion),
Unpublished.

Obv. Bust of the Theotokos "of the Sign" (Episkepsis), orans, a bust of Christ Emmanuel within a medalion; inscription: $\overline{\text{MP}} - \Theta$.: Μ(ήτηρ)ρ Θ[(εο)ῦ]: *Mother of God.*
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

— + —
ΣΚΕΠΟΙΣ
ΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ
ΤΟΝ ΤΟΥ
ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ
ΚΟΡΗ

+ Σκέποις Μανουήλ τὸν τοῦ
ἄρχ[ο]ντος, Κόρη.
+ *Virgin, protect Manuel,
man of the Archon.*
Border of dots.

Date:

last quarter
XIth – early
XIIth c.

Commentary:

The seal of Manuel Attaleiates²⁵⁵ may have a similar construction (Ἀτταλειάτην instead of τὸν τοῦ ἄρχ[ο]ντος), but our Manuel is certainly another person.²⁵⁶

Manuel was either a close relative (perhaps a nephew, probably not a son), or a deputy of an archon in the Rus', either of the one in Kyiv or of another kniaz', perhaps the one ruling over the region of Zhytomyr, if the majority of these seals comes from this region, which belonged historically to the Dereva land.

²⁵⁵ STAVRAKOS, no. 31; WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 2039.

²⁵⁶ V. Bulgakova proposed to identify the two persons.

5. Georgios

VP-1569.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 12.5×13 mm. H. 2.5 mm.
W. 1.5 g. Blank too small for
the die. The channel of the
seal runs from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

near Ezuch River,
Berezhne village, Konotop
district, Sumy oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) Private collection;
- b) Private collection.

Publ.:

А-В) ЗНУКОВ, Меховые
деньги 1а, 1б.



Obv. Bust of St. Georgios holding a
spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).
Vertical Inscriptions: Θ|Γ|Ε – . . . :
Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Γε[ώργ(ιος)]: *Saint Georgios*.
Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of four lines:

. ΚΕΡ, .
ΙΩCΩΔ
ΓΕΩΡ
ΓΙ,

Date:

second half
of the XIth –
first third of
the XIIth c.

[+] Κ(ύρι)ε β[(οή)θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ
δ(ούλῳ) Γεωργί(ῳ).
+ *Lord aid your servant Georgios*.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

The letters are massive and their style looks provincial. The abbreviation
mark at the end of the legend resembles a dot.

This seal belonged to a kniaz' of the Rus' with the Christian name Geor-
gios. A similar seal found in Kyiv was tentatively attributed to Yaroslav
Volodymyrovych,²⁵⁷ and we also know of another one in a collection in
Berlin.²⁵⁸ Other similar seals originate from Byzantine territory, but no
exact parallel seems to be extant.

Page 268



²⁵⁷ YANIN – ГАЙДУКОВ, *Актовые печати* III 31а, p. 31.

²⁵⁸ Berlin II 361.

6. Davyd Rostyslavych(?), archon of Rus'

1. VP-629.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 23.5×25 mm.

D₂. 19.5 mm. H. 5 mm.

W. 17.6 g. Hit.

The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

Zhvyрка village, Sokal' district, Lviv oblast'.

2. VP-637.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 24×29 mm. H. 4 mm.

W. 13.8 g. Bent, restored.

Find-spot:

Zvenyhorod village, Pustomyty district, Lviv oblast'.

3. VP-1289.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 23×20 mm. H. 3 mm.

W. 8 g. Two thirds of the seal. Partially damaged.

Find-spot:

Zhytomyr oblast'.



Analogy:

- a) unknown (found in Sasiadka village, Lublin voivodeship, Poland);
- b) unknown (found in Sasiadka village, Lublin voivodeship, Poland);
- c) unknown (found in Sasiadka village, Lublin voivodeship, Poland);
- d) Private collection (found in Volyn' o., Ukraine).

Publ.:

- a-c) SOLOVIEV, Ἀρχων Ῥωσίας 240–244, no. 1, 2 and 4; YANIN, *Актовые печати* I, no. 28, 1–3; WARTAŁOWSKA, *Sutiejsk* 14, 1–3;
- d) NECHYTAILO II 65.2.

Obv. Full-length standing figure of the Prophet David, blessing or in a gesture of allucation (r. hand) and holding a roll (l. hand). Cyrillic inscription: Δ|Α|ΒΒ| – Δ|Β: ΔΑΒΥΔΒ: *David*. This figure is similar to the obverse of another seal, which is interpreted as a fourth boulloterion of Davyd Ihorovych, though it could have belonged to a later synonymous.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ΚΕΒΟ,
ΤΩΣΟΔΘ
ΛΟΔΔΑΡ
ΧΟΝΤΑ
ΡΟΙΑ
C

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ή)θ(ει) τῷ σ(ῶ) δούλ(ῳ)
Δ(αβι)δ ἄρχοντα Ρ(ωσ)ίας.
+ *Lord aid your servant Davyd, archon of Rosia.*

Border of dots.

The paleography of the letters is clearly influenced by the changes in Byzantine sigillographic paleography around the middle of the XIIth century: the Beta is closed, the ligature Omikron-Ypsilon has the new form of Θ; the Tau in the second line with two small vertical bars at the end of the horizontal bar is still more advanced, and the rare Alpha (similar to Δ) is unusual before the late XII century. The first Alpha of ἄρχοντα is quite big and strange.

The letters and the bad spelling point towards a „barbarian“ craftsman who did not fully understand his model. It is not certain whether our seals preserved a Θ above the B in the first line, but the similar pieces show it. The name in the third line is abbreviated to ΔΔ. Instead of ἄρχοντι there is ἄρχοντα, and instead of the first Sigma in Ρωσίας we only read an I.

Commentary:

Yanin also attributed these seals to Davyd Ihorovych, kniaz' of Volyn' (1085–1112),²⁵⁹ but that is absolutely unsubstantiated. It would be strange if a seal from the periphery would anticipate the Byzantine paleographic evolution for decennia.

A possible candidate could perhaps be Davyd, son of Rostyslav, kniaz' of Smolensk (1127–1159) and of Kyiv (1159–1168). Davyd himself was kniaz' of Smolensk 1180–1197, following his elder brother Roman. One of his father's sisters was probably married to the Komnenos clan, though the details of this marriage remain unclear.²⁶⁰ Perhaps this connection persuaded Davyd to use a seal in the Byzantine manner. The find-spots favour such an interpretation.

²⁵⁹ YANIN, *Актовые печати* I 171, no. 28; cf. our no. 2.3.

²⁶⁰ Cf. KAZHDAN, *Marriages* 422–423; RAFFENSPERGER, *Ties of Kinship* 369 (N. N. M'stislavna).

Davyd Ihorovych, archon Rosias

d) *fourth boulloterion*

6. VP-1601.



Manuel ὁ τοῦ ἄρχοντος

1. VP-1059.



2. VP-1632.



Georgios

VP-1569.



Davyd Rostyslavych(?), archon of Rus'

1. VP-629.



2. VP-637.



3. VP-1289.



7. Sevlot / Vsevolod

VP-500.

*Unpublished:**Dimensions:*

D. 28×27 mm.

D₂. 15.5 (obv.) 14 (rev.) mm.

H. 4 mm. W. 22.7 g.

The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 5 h.

Blank too big for the die.

*Find-spot:*Vyhurivshchyna village,
Kyiv district, Kyiv oblast'.

Obv. Bust of St. Andreas with a long beard (perhaps ending bipartite) and curly hair which, although shorter than usual, covers the ears. He does not hold a long cross as on other seals. Inscription: Θ|Α| . – Δ|Ρ|Ε|Α: 'Ο ἄγιος Ἀ[ν]δρέας(ς): *Saint Andreas.*

Border of dots.**Rev.** Inscription of four lines:

+ΚΕΡ,Θ,
ΤΩΣΕ
ΡΛΟΤ
–Ω–

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ Σεβλότῳ.

+ *Lord aid Sevlot.***Border of dots.**

Page 274

Date:ca. last third
of the XIth –
early XIIth c.**Commentary:**

This seal belonged to a Rus' prince(?) called Vsevolod, with the Christian name Andreas. We would prefer a date in the last third of the XIth or early XIIth c. The image of St. Andreas in combination with the featured name Sevlot are key to interpreting this seal. The only known prince with the Christian name Andreas was Vsevolod I Yaroslavych, Kniaz' of Pereiaslav (1054–1055), Kyiv (1077), Chernihiv (1077–1078), and of Kyiv (1078–1093).²⁶¹

This specimen represents a type which is distinctive from Vsevolod I's seals. The location in which the seal was found may bear some significance. Vyhurivshchyna is situated on the left bank of the Dnipro River in the vicinity of Kyiv. On the river bed of the old Desna, called Radosyn (other names Rudunka and Gnylusha) there was an ancient town called Horodets' – a place of important meetings of kniaz's (1026, 1078, 1098, 1111, 1134, 1142, 1151, 1170).²⁶² A meeting which took place in 1078 could be equally significant for the reconstruction of the seal's background. In 1078 Izyaslav Yaroslavych, Kniaz' of Kyiv, who had campaigned against Oleh and Borys with the assistance of his brother Vsevolod, was killed in the battle of Nezhatyna. His body was brought to Horodets' wherefrom he was transferred to Kyiv with a burial procession. Perhaps a document sealed by Vsevolod was issued within a short period between August 1078 – when Vsevolod lost his seat in Chernihiv – and October 1078, when he was installed in Kyiv.²⁶³ But there is, however, no sigillographic evidence which connects this type of seal with any of the other numerous Vsevolod Yaroslavych's seals.

Alternatively, the seal may have belonged to Oleh-Michael Sviatoslavych's son, called Vsevolod, prince of Chernihiv, later of Kyiv who died in 1146. Another possible owner could have been a prominent man who did not belong to the dynasty but was called Vsevolod.

²⁶¹ ЛІТВІНА — УСПЕНСКИЙ, Выбор имени 507–508.²⁶² ІВАКІН, Городок Пісочний 172.²⁶³ PSRL I 199–204; PSRL II 190–195.

8. Andreas

VP-700.

Publ.:

АЛѢОРОВ, Всеволод 3.

Dimensions:

D. 30×31 mm. D₂. 27 mm.

H. 4 mm. W. 21.2 g.

Without the channel.

Poorly printed on the sides.

Hole in the centre (obverse).

Find-spot:

Royishe village, Chernihiv district, Chernihiv oblast'.



Page 274

Obv. Bust of St. Andreas, the long hair-dress falls down to the shoulders; he is blessing (r. hand) and holding a long cross (l. hand). Inscription: . |Α|Γ|Ι|Ο|C
— AN|ΔΡΕ|Α|C: ['O] ἄγιος Ἀνδρέας;
Saint Andreas.

Border of dots.

Rev.: Inscription of five lines:

+ΚΕΡΩ
.....ΤΩΝ
ΔΩΝΑΩΝ
CΩΝΑΝΔ
ΡΕΑΝ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(ο)[ήθει] τ(ὸ)ν δ(ο)υλ(ό)ν
σ(ο)υ Ἀνδρέαν.

+ *Lord aid your servant Andreas.*

Border of dots.

The rubbed legend is in the accusative, with a lot of spelling mistakes (Omega instead of Omikron). It belonged probably to a Rus'ian archon with the Christian name Andreas, but there are no hints to a specific one. Because of the poor condition of the reverse legend it is not easy to date the piece precisely, perhaps it dates from the later XIth or the first third of the XIIth century. Vsevolod Yaroslavych had a similar obverse figure, but there are no sigillographic indicia in the legend connecting this seal to any of the numerous ones of Yaroslavych.

3. Princesses

1. Maria, nun, the most noble archontissa

1. VP-1605.



Publ.:

SEIBT, Dobronega.

Find-spot:

Boryspil' city, Boryspil' district, Kyiv oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 23.5×25 mm.

D₂. 24 mm. H. 3 mm.

W. 11.1 g. Corroded.

2. VP-211.



Publ.:

ALF'OROV, Καταλογ 6;

SEIBT, Dobronega.

Find-spot:

Kyiv oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 26×27 mm. D₂. 23 mm.

H. 4 mm. W. 12.2 g. The

channel of the seal runs

from 11 to 7 h. Break at end

of the channel. Corroded.

Analogs:

- a) The numismatic department of the Hermitage 13 (found in Trakhtemyriv, Kaniv district, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine);
- b) The numismatic department of the State Historical Museum, Moscow RF (found in Kyiv or Kyiv oblast', Ukraine).

Publ.:

a-b) YANIN, Актовые печати I 23, 1-2.

Obv. Bust of St. Andreas, holding a long cross (r. hand) and perhaps a roll (l. hand). His hairs fall down to the shoulders, and he probably has a beard. St. Andreas was highly valued by the Eastern Church. According to the tradition, he was a missionary of the "Scythians".

Inscription: Θ|Α|Ν – Δ|ΡΕ|ΑC:

ἽΟ ἁ(γιος) ἸΑνδρέας; Saint Andreas.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

⋈
+CΦΡΑΓ,
ΜΑΡΙΑCΜΟ
ΝΑΧΙCΤΗC
ΕΥΓΕΝΕCΤΑ
ΤΙCΑΡΧΟΝ
ΤΙCΙC ·

+ Σφραγ(ις) Μαρίας μοναχ(ῆ)ς τῆς
εὐγενεστάτ(η)ς ἀρχοντίσ(ση)ς.

+ Seal of nun Maria, the most noble
archontissa.

Border of dots.

Date:

Xth c.,
probably
after
1058–1087.

Commentary:

Previous reading suggestions included M^{NO}-MAXIC instead of MONAXIC, but the latter is certain. Moreover it does not make sense to attribute this seal to the unknown “ц(а)рици грекини”, the wife of Vsevolod Yaroslavych (c. 1052) and the future mother of Volodymyr Monomach.²⁶⁴

W. Seibt proposed to attribute the seal to Maria Dobronega, probably the youngest daughter of Volodymyr Sviatoslavych (the first Christian ruler of the Rus'), who married ca. 1039 Casimir, the duke of Poland. Casimir passed away in 1058, but Dobronega lived many years as a widow, till she died in 1087. It is quite possible that she became a nun and returned to the Rus'. Casimir's sister Gertrude, the wife of prince Iziaslav Yaroslavych, was also living in this place. Maria's status is sufficient to explain her title “εὐγενεστάτη ἀρχόντισσα”. The extant seals of Maria suggest her active role in the Rus' after 1058. It is interesting to compare our seals with that of Volodymyr Vsevolodovych Monomach, who assumed his rule in 1073. It appears that Volodymyr added the prefix παν- to his own title (πανευγενέστατος ἄρχων Ρωσίας) so as to surpass that of Maria.



²⁶⁴ For the details cf. SEIBT, l.c.

Sevlot / Vsevolod

VP-500.



Andreas

VP-700.



PRINCESSES

Maria, nun, the most noble archontissa

1. VP-1605.



2. VP-211.



2. Theophanou Mouzalonissa, archontissa Rusias

VP-603.

Publ.:ULIANOVSKY, Φεοφάνο
Μυζαλον 1.**Dimensions:**D. 37×38 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 25.5 g. The channel
of the seal runs from
1 to 7 h. Hit. Restored.**Find-spot:**Boryspil' city, Boryspil'
district, Kyiv oblast'.**Analogies:**

- a) The numismatic
department of
the Hermitage, 15;
- b) Berlin MK.

Publ.:

- a) SCHLUMBERGER,
Sigillographie 432–433,
no. 3 (with facsimile);
- b) LIKHACHEV, *Материалы*
I 136; YANIN, *Актовые*
печати I 30, 1–2;
VASSILIOU – SEIBT,
Österreich II 68, no.
269; BULGAKOVA,
Osteuropa 3.2.1. 3 a-b.



Obv. Full-length standing figures (in light profile, but with frontal faces) of St. Nikolaos and the Virgin, raising their hands in a kind of Deesis toward a medallion of Christ. On the left of the medallion there are the following sigla in very small letters: IC ∴: Ἰησοῦς [Χ(ριστό)ς]: *Jesus Christ*; inscription on the right of the Virgin ΘΥ: [Μή(τη) ρ] Θ(εο)ῦ: *Mother of God*; inscription in column at left: Θ|Ν|Ι|Κ|Ο|Λ|Α|Ο|C:

Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Νικόλαος: *Saint Nikolaos*. Scholars previously misinterpreted these standing figures as Methodios and Kyrillos (Schlumberger), St. Theophanou and the Virgin (Likhachev, Yanin, and Bulgakova).

Border of dots.

Commentary:

Schlumberger was enthusiastic about the parallel of this seal in his collection (now in the Hermitage): “Je ne pense pas qu’il existe un monument sigillographique byzantine présentant un plus grand intérêt que celui-ci.” Theophanou is another form of the name Theophano. As the lady calls herself Mouzalonissa it is clear that she was a daughter of a Mouzalon. Although the family reached its acme in the XIIIth c. under Theodoros II Laskaris, it was not of obscure origin as sometimes argued by Byzantine historians (e.g. Pachymeres) and scholars.²⁶⁵ For contributions to the prosopography of the family in between the Xth and XIth c. cf. Seibt,²⁶⁶ Vassiliou – Seibt,²⁶⁷ and Chkhaidze.²⁶⁸ Judging by the extant sources, the Mouzalones were in the XIth c. members of the mid-level civil administration. Four still unpublished seals belonging to Georgios Mouzalon patrikios and symponos, with a standing figure of the Virgin Hagiosoritissa turned to right to a medallion of Christ on the obverse, are quite similar to Theophanou’s seal.²⁶⁹ For the date we think about 1040/1080. Perhaps Georgios was the father of Theophanou.



Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

— — —
+ΚΕΡ,Θ,
ΤΗΧΔ.ΛΗ
ΘΕΟ.ΔΝΟΝ
ΑΡΧΟΝΤΗΧ
ΡΥΣΙΑΧΤΗ
ΜΥΣΑΛΩ
ΝΗΧ-

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῇ σῇ δ[ού]λῃ
Θεο[φ]ανοῦ ἀρχοντ(ί)σ(σ)ῃ Ρουσίας
τῇ Μουζαλων(ί)σ(σ)ῃ.

+ *Lord aid your servant Theophanou
Mouzalonissa, archontissa Rusias.*

Border of dots.

Date:XIth c., last
quarter.

²⁶⁵ A. KAZDAN thought that Theophanou (erroneously he writes „Theodora”) was the first known member of this family (ODB 1420–1421).

²⁶⁶ SEIBT, Andronikos Muzalodukas 709–712.

²⁶⁷ VASSILIOU – SEIBT, *Österreich II*, no. 41.

²⁶⁸ CHKHAI DZE, Φεοφάνο Μυζαλον, esp. 285–287, no. 1–6.

²⁶⁹ DO 55.1.3197 and 3198; Fogg 3676; IFEB 331.



The boulloterion was cut – probably in Constantinople by an excellent craftsman – in the last quarter of the XIth c., though a dating in the beginning of the XIIth c. is not out of the question. Given that scenes with any kind of Deesis are well attested from the second half of the XIth c. onwards, it would be unreasonable to date our seal in the XIIIth c. because of this scene.

Which ἄρχων Ρουσίας was Theophanou's husband? It is not necessary to restrict the term ἄρχων Ρουσίας to the great prince residing in Kyiv, since other Rus'ian princes called themselves in the same way. A. P. Kazhdan's suggestion, however, which identified this archon with a minor official, the master of Rosia, a small village near Matracha on the peninsula of Kerch, seems improbable.²⁷⁰ Most scholars prefer Oleh-Michael Sviatoslavych²⁷¹ as Theophanou's husband. Though this attribution cannot be proven, it seems very plausible. Oleh was born in 1050, his father, Sviatoslav Yaroslavych, became velykyi kniaz' of Kyiv from 1073–1076. After assuming the post of kniaz' of Tmutorokan, at least between 1078–1079, Oleh was taken prisoner by Khazars and delivered to the Byzantine emperor. For some years he was living in Constantinople and on the island of Rhodes in a kind of exile. In 1083 Alexios I allowed Oleh to return to Tmutorokan, where he resided till 1094. From 1094–1096 he was the prince of Chernihiv, and of Novhorod-Sivers'kyi, ca. 1097–1115. He had four sons, but we do not know when they were born. During Oleh's exile in the Byzantine empire, he may have thought fit to establish close contacts with the Mouzalones, who were a mid-tier family.

If this is the case the boulloterion may have been cut ca. 1081. It is possible, on the other hand, that a record in the Synodikon of Liubech, preserved in a late eighteenth manuscript, which mentions the wedding of Michail-Oleh, kniaz' of Chernihiv with a Feofaniia, referred to another, thirteenth c. couple.²⁷²

²⁷⁰ KAZHDAN, *Marriages* 418.

²⁷¹ For Oleh cf. no. III.3.2.

²⁷² Cf. KAZHDAN, *Marriages* 417–418; cf. also RAFFENSPERGER, *Ties of Kinship* 66–67.

II.

OFFICES OF PRINCES

1. Rank titles

1. Eustathios, protoproedros

1. VP-436.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:
Zhytomyr oblast'.

Dimensions:
D. 22 mm. D₂. 20.5 mm.
H. 3.5 mm. W. 9.8 g.
Corroded.

2. VP-122.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:
Bil'kivtsi village, Korostyshiv
district, Zhytomyr oblast'.

Dimensions:
D. 23×24.5 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 12.7 g. The channel of
the seal runs from 12 to 5 h.

3. VP-1604.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:
Stanislav village, Bilozerka
district, Kherson oblast'.

Dimensions:
D. 24.5×18 mm. H. 3.5
mm. W. 10.4 g. The channel
of the seal runs from 1
to 6 h. Half of the seal.

4. VP-100.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:
Ukraine.

Dimensions:
D. 24.5×18 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 10.4 g. The channel
of the seal runs from
1 to 6 h. Half of the seal.

5. VP-966.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:
Ternopil' oblast'.

Dimensions:
D. 23×24.5 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 12.7 g. The channel
of the seal runs from 12
to 5 h. Half of the seal, hit.

Analogies:

There are a lot of similar seals, belonging to two or even three boulloteria. Yanin and Gajdukov have published 45 exemplars. On some seals they read ΠΡΩΤΩ instead of ΠΡΩΤΟ in the first line of the reverse legend, but we could not find any seal which corroborates this reading. On the other hand, there are differences concerning the inscription on the obverse. Some pieces preserve the full name Theodoros on the right side,²⁷³ though in our case the first two letters, ΘΕ, are on the left side. At least the great majority of the seals published by Yanin and Gajdukov under the number 72, mostly found in Novgorod, seem to be parallels to our type – in some cases the seals are too damaged to decide. We did not find a single type where the legend ends with ΣΚΕΠΟΙΣ, as V. Laurent had assumed.²⁷⁴

The following seals could belong to our type:

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| a) The numismatic department of Hermitage, 36 (found in Novgorod); | o) Museum of Novgorod, 33656-5 (found in Novgorod, Gorodishche); | ab) Institute of Archeology of National Academy of science of Ukraine (found in Vytachiv, Kyiv obl.); |
| b) The numismatic department of Hermitage, 37 (found in Novgorod); | p) Museum of Pskov, 15057 (found in Pskov); | ac) Museum of Novgorod, 39885 (found in Novgorod, Gorodishche); |
| c) The numismatic department of Hermitage, 38; | q) Museum of Novgorod, 33657-1 (found in Novgorod, Gorodishche); | ad) The numismatic department of Hermitage, 5986 (found in Beloozero); |
| d) unknown (found in Novgorod); | r) Museum of Novgorod, 33656-7 (found in Novgorod, Gorodishche); | ae) Private collection in Novgorod (found in Beloozero); |
| e) Museum of Novgorod, 4096 (found in Novgorod); | s) Museum of Novgorod, 33656-6 (found in Novgorod); | af) The numismatic department of Historical Museum of RF (found in v. Mogutovo, RF); |
| f) Museum of Novgorod, 4098 (found in Novgorod); | t) Museum of Novgorod, 32343 (found in Novgorod, Gorodishche); | ag) The numismatic department of Hermitage (found in v. Mogutovo, RF); |
| g) Museum of Novgorod, 4097 (found in Novgorod); | u) Museum of Novgorod, 33656-8 (found in Novgorod); | ah) Private collection, Moscow, RF (found in v. Mogutovo, RF); |
| h) The numismatic department of Historical Museum of RF, 13 (found in Novgorod); | v) Museum of Novgorod, 33656-9 (found in Novgorod, Gorodishche); | ai) The numismatic department of Hermitage (found in Novgorod); |
| i) Private collection of V. M. Kovalevoi (found in Novgorod); | w) The numismatic department of Hermitage (found in Novgorod); | aj) The numismatic department of Hermitage (found in Novgorod); |
| j) unknown (found in Novgorod); | x) Museum of Novgorod, 39205 (found in Novgorod); Museum of Novgorod, 38851 (found in Novgorod); | ak) Private collection (found in Beloozero); |
| k) Institute of Archeology of National Academy of science of Ukraine (found in v. Bilohorodka, Kyiv obl.); | y) Museum of Novgorod, 39000 (found in Novgorod, Gorodishche); | al) Private collection (found in Beloozero); |
| l) The numismatic department of Hermitage, 39 (found in Novgorod); | z) Private collection in Novgorod (found in Novgorod, Gorodishche); | am) Private collection (found in Tver' oblast?); |
| m) The numismatic department of Hermitage, 16/5648 (found in Staraia Ladoga); | aa) unknown (found in Volkovysk, Grodno oblast', Belarus); | an) Institute of Archeology of Russian Academy of Sciences of RF (found in v. Mogutovo); |
| n) Museum of history of Kyiv, A-3906 (found in Kyiv); | | ao) The numismatic department of Hermitage (found in Novgorod, Gorodishche); |
| | | ap) Private collection; |
| | | ar) Private collection of O. Alf'orov (found in Chernihiv). |

Page 283



²⁷³ Cf. YANIN, *Актовые печати* I 73; YANIN – GAJDUKOV, *Актовые печати* III 73, 2-3.

²⁷⁴ LAURENT, *Bulles métriques* 317.

Publ.:

- a-m) YANIN, *Актовые печати* I: 72,1–13;
 n-ab) YANIN – GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печати* III: 72,14–29;
 ac-ad) GAIDUKOV – YANIN 1998, 72, 30–31;
 ae) GAIDUKOV – YANIN 2001, 72, 32;
 af) GAIDUKOV – YANIN 2002, 72, 33;
 ag-aj) GAIDUKOV – YANIN 2005, 72, 34–37;
 ak-am) GAIDUKOV – YANIN 2006, 72, 38–40;
 an-ao) GAIDUKOV – YANIN 2008, 72, 41–42;
 ap) BUTYRSKII – ORETSKAYA, *Запечатлевшие историю*, 119;
 ar) unpublished.

Obv. Full-length standing figure of St. Theodore, the left hand rests on the top of his shield, the right hand holds a lance. Inscription in small letters: $\Theta|\Delta|\Gamma|\Theta|\Theta|\epsilon$
 $-\Theta|\Delta\psi|\rho|\Theta|\zeta$: Ὁ ἅγιος Θεόδωρος;
 Saint Theodore.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

– + –
 ΠΡΩΤΟ
 ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΝ
 ΕΥ : ΣΤΑΘΙ
 ΟΝΜΕΣΚΕ
 – ΠΕ –

Date:

1088–1094.

+ Πρωτοπρόεδρον Εὐστάθιον με
 σκέπε.
 + *Protect me, protoproedros Eustathios.*
Border of dots.

Commentary:

All types have a very unusual characteristic, two dots between ΕΥ and the rest of the name, ΣΤΑΘΙΟΝ; probably Eustathios wanted to stress the meaning of εὖ, (“good”), or even introduce a second meaning as “εὖ σκέπε”.

The legend is a correct dodecasyllable with caesura after the fifth syllable. Since Eustathios was well trained in Greek, one wonders whether he was of Byzantine origin.

Scholars have now established that Eustathios, who's Rus'ian name was Zavid, was active between 1088–1094 as posadnik of Novgorod, as deputy of kniaz' Mstyslav-Theodoros Volodymyrovych.²⁷⁵ Though it is not certain that protoproedros reflects an imperial title granted by the Byzantine emperor, we find it very plausible. Alternatively protoproedros may constitute a transcription of his position as head of the city, since bishops and metropolitans usually called themselves often proedroi or protoproedroi of their diocese. Although the majority of the seals stem from the region of Novgorod, they are not only found in it, as previously assumed, but in other parts of the Rus' as well.

²⁷⁵ Cf. YANIN – GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печати* III, 39; WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 1865.

1. VP-436.



2. VP-122.



3. VP-1604.



4. VP-100.



5. VP-966.



2. The Princes' Chancery

1. Gregorios, notarios

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-1574.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 18.5 mm. D₂. 16.5 mm. H. 3 mm. W. 5.3 g. Half of the seal. The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 4 h.



Page 286

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God (Blachernitissa-type).
Rev. Inscription of three lines:
Border of dots.

.. ΗΓΟΡ,
NOTAP,

b) second boulloterion

2. VP-1371.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:

Pashkivka village, Makariv district, Kyiv oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 21.5×23 mm. D₂. 15.5 mm. H. 4 mm. W. 10.3 g. Poorly printed resp. pressed on the sides. The channel of the seal runs from 12 to 7 h.



Page 286

Analopies:

Private collection (founded in Kyiv oblast').

Publ.:

NECHYTAILO II 393.

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God (Blachernitissa-type). Inscription without tilde above her hands: MP – ΘV:
M(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ: *Mother of God*.
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

– ∴ –
+KΘRΘ
ΓΟΗΓΟΡ
NOT . P

c) *third boulloterion*

3. VP-1196.

**Referred:**

ALF'OROV, Географічні
назви 7, 13.

Dimensions:

D. 18.5×18 mm. H. 2.5 mm.
W. 5.3 g. The channel of the
seal runs from 12 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

under Volodymyr city,
Volodymyr district,
Volyn' oblast'.

4. VP-1375.

**Unpublished.****Dimensions:**

D. 17×19 mm. H. 4 mm.
W. 7.3 g. Corroded.
The channel of the seal
runs from 10 to 4 h.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

5. VP-490.

**Unpublished.****Dimensions:**

D. 21×24.5 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 7.7 g. Struck off-center.
The channel of the seal runs
from 12 to 7 h. Restored.

Find-spot:

Nehrashi village, Kyiv-
Sviatoshyn district,
Kyiv oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) Institute of Archeology
National Academy of
Sciences of Ukraine
(found in Khotiv
village, Kyiv oblast');
b) Private collection (found
in Kyiv oblast').

Publ.:

- a) YANIN – GAIDUKOV,
Актовые печати
III 66-6 (a);
b) NECHYTAILO II 393 (b).

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God
(Blachernitissa-type). Inscription with-
out tilde above her hands: **MP – ΘV**:
M(ήτηρ)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ: Mother of God.
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

— ∴ —
+HΘR/O
ΓOHTOP
NOTAP
— ∴ —

+ (K)(ύρι)(ε) β(οή)(θ)(ει)
Γ(ρ)ηγορ(ίω) νοταρ(ίω).
+ *Lord aid Gregorios, notarios.*
Border of dots.

Date:

second half
of the XIth –
early XIIth c.

Commentary:

The „archetype” of the boulloterion had the legend: +KΕΡ,Θ,- ΓΡΗΓΟΡ,
- NOTAP,²⁷⁶ which was later on sometimes recut by a less skilled crafts-
man, who misunderstood some letters. Although not unprecedented, it
is unusual for a seal which figures the Theotokos without the child on
the obverse to be accompanied by a reverse legend which begins with
KΕ instead of ΘΚΕ.

Yanin and Gajdukov proposed to supply the last line with MATPA[X],
based on a parallel piece of the third boulloterion. They, therefore, at-
tributed the seal to an archbishop of Matracha,²⁷⁷ an argument which
needs to be rejected. Was this Gregory the chief secretary of a prince
of Kyiv? The relatively big number of seals from different boulloteria sug-
gest a long-term activity in his job. We do not know a similar seal from
Byzantine territory.

Page 287



²⁷⁶ A seal of this type exists in a private collection in the Ukraine.

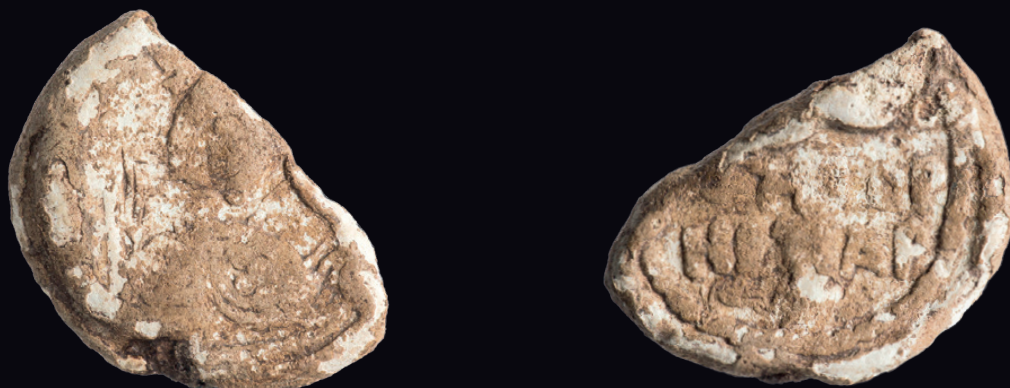
²⁷⁷ YANIN – GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печати* III 66-6. But cf. ALF'OROV, Географічні назви 7, 13.

The Princes' Chancery

Gregorios, notarios

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-1574.



b) second boulloterion

2. VP-1371.



c) third boulloterion

3. VP-1196.



4. VP-1375.



5. VP-490.



3. Without rank title or office

1. Andreas

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-917.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 24×27 mm. D₂. 23 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 9.5 g. Breaks at both ends of the channel. Hit. The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

Obukhiv district, Kyiv oblast'.

Analogies:

unknown collection
(found in Chernihiv).

Publ.:

KOVALENKO – MOLCHANOV,
Сфрагистические
памятники 208–216;
YANIN – GAIDUKOV,
Актовые печати III 40a.

b) second boulloterion

2. VP-977.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 25×20.5 mm. D₂. 20.5 mm. H. 3.5 mm. W. 12.9 g.
Hit. The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

Kyiv oblast'.

Obv. Bust of St. Michael vested in the imperial loros, holding a long scepter (r. hand) and a globus with a cross (l. hand). Inscription: **M–X:** Μ(ι)χ(α)ῆλ: Michael.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four (or five) lines:

+KĒRO
HΘEITΩ
CΩΔΗΛΟ
ΑΝΔΡΕ

Date:

last third
XIth – early
XIIth c.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω)
Ἀνδρέ(α).

+ Lord aid your servant Andreas.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

Although the two seals are not exact parallels, they bear a strong resemblance and certainly belonged to the same person. Under the fourth line there is enough space for an ornament or the final letter Alpha.

A Rus'ian kniaz' with the Christian name Andreas would normally prefer a figure of St. Andreas on his seal, so Yanin and Gaidukov interpreted Andreas as radnyk / pechatnyk of Knjaz' Mykhail (Sviatopolk Iziaslavych or Oleh Sviatoslavych),²⁷⁸ but that is only a preliminary hypothesis.

²⁷⁸ YANIN – GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печати III*, p. 25–26.

1. VP-917.



2. VP-977.



**III.
ECCLESIASTICAL
ADMINISTRATION
OF THE METROPOLIS OF RUS'**

1. Metropolitans

A. Metropolitans of Rus' (Kyiv)

1. Ioannes I, metropolitan of Rosia

VP-1627.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 32×33.5 mm. D₂. 22 mm.
H. 3.5 mm. W. 25.8 g.
Bent, hit, corroded.

Find-spot:

Voron'kiv village, Boryspil'
district, Kyiv oblast'.

Analogies:

"Kyiv museum" (found near
the Desiatynna church).

Publ.:

SOLOVIEV, *Metropolitensiegel*
319, pl. VII 2; YANIN,
Актовые печати I 44.



Obv. Bust of the Virgin, probably with both hands before the chest ("Minimalorantengestus"), a type which was relatively frequent between 1010 and 1060. Sigla on either side: $\overline{MP}$ – $\overline{\Theta V}$: $\overline{M}(\eta\tau\eta)\rho$ $\overline{\Theta}(\epsilon\sigma)\tilde{\nu}$: *Mother of God*. By mistake the editors of the parallel piece attributed the bust to St. Ioannes.

Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+Θ. $\overline{\epsilon\tilde{\nu}}$,
Θ,ΤΩ $\overline{\zeta\omega\delta\lambda}$
Λ,ΙΩ $\overline{M\eta\tau\rho\omicron}$
ΠΟΛΙΤΗ
ΡΩ $\overline{\zeta\iota\alpha}$, .

+ Θ(εοτό)[κ]ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ
δούλ(ω) Ἰω(άννη) μητροπολίτη
Ρωσία(ς).
+ *Theotokos help your servant ioannes,
metropolitan of Rosia.*

Yanin read in the first line of the parallel piece +CKEΠ instead of +Θ.ΕΡ,. The ligature Omikron-Ypsilon constitutes an intermediate stage between the earlier type (Ϝ) and the more recent one, the so-called horse-shoe (Ϟ). The ligature, therefore, suggests a period before the middle of the XIth century. At the end of the last line there is a single dot, perhaps there was also one at the beginning of this line.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

The dating of the seal is problematic. Yanin attributed the parallel piece to Ioannes IV (ca. 1090–1091), a hypothesis which should certainly be rejected. Soloviev was more cautious.

The seal surely mentions a metropolitan before 1051 (when Hilarion was elected), either before or after Theopemptos who is documented for the



year 1039 and was probably in office c. 1037–ca. 1043.²⁷⁹ Blazejowskyj²⁸⁰ and Poppe²⁸¹ date Ioannes before Theopemptos, but this cannot be proven. The most important chronicles, the Lavrentian and the Hypatian, do not mention Ioannes but the “Tales of Boris and Gleb” are ascribed to a certain “Ioannes metropolitan or archbishop”. This work was probably compiled in connection with the transferring of Boris’ and Hlib’s relics into the church built by Prince Yaroslav in 1053.²⁸² This could suggest a dating of Ioannes’ occupation of his post in Kyiv between ca. 1043 and 1051 (at the latest). The paleography of the seal’s letters, however, suggest that an earlier dating is also possible, a dating before 1037.

There is another type of seal of an Ioannes, metropolitan of Rus’, one in Dumbarton Oaks²⁸³ edited by Laurent²⁸⁴ and in DOSeals I,²⁸⁵ and another by Yanin.²⁸⁶ A quite similar type from Beloozero (with small changes in the distribution of letters) was published by Yanin and Gaidukov,²⁸⁷ and the same applies to another type as well (which does not certainly mention a metropolitan).²⁸⁸ These quite small seals cannot be dated to the early, as Laurent had argued, but to the late XIth century. On the obverse we see a bust of the Theotokos Episkepsis. The legend reads similar to ours, but the title of metropolitan is abbreviated. The seal Yanin – Gaidukov, *Актовые печамы* III, 50-2 should most probably be attributed to Ioannes II (1077–1089). One can also consider Ioannes III (1089/90–1090/91) and Ioannes IV but the first seems more likely.²⁸⁹

²⁷⁹ Cf. our no. 1.A.2..

²⁸⁰ BLAZEJOWSKYJ, *Kyivan Church* 65.

²⁸¹ POPPE, *Metropolitani* 284: 2. Johannes (Ioann) I.

²⁸² Cf. МИЛУТЕНКО, Борис и Глеб 45; NAZARENKO, Ioann I 76–77; ТОЛОЧКО, Замечания... There were three transferrings of Boris’ and Hlib’s relics in Vyshhorod – 1053, 1072 and 1115. The two later ones are recorded in the chronicles: PSRL I 181, 290; II 171, 280–281.

²⁸³ DO 47.2.358.

²⁸⁴ LAURENT, *Corpus* V/1, no. 781 (dated to the first half of the XI century, attributed to John I).

²⁸⁵ DOSeals I 85.3 (dated to the late eleventh century). Cf. also BULGAKOVA, *Osteuropa* 3.2.3.3. (attributed to John III).

²⁸⁶ YANIN, *Актовые печамы* I, no. 50 (dated to 1164–1166, though with a question mark).

²⁸⁷ YANIN – GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печамы* III, 50-2 (dated to 1164–1166); cf. BULGAKOVA, *Osteuropa*, l.c.

²⁸⁸ YANIN – GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печамы* III, 50a (dated to 1164–1166).

²⁸⁹ Cf. BLAZEJOWSKYJ, *Kyivan Church* 78.

2. Theopemptos, metropolitan of Rosia

1. VP-336.



Publ.:
ALF'OROV, Κατάλογ 13.

Dimensions:
D. 20×23 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 12.3 g. Blank too small
for the die. Obverse struck
off-center, the channel of the
seal runs from 12 to 7 h.

Find-spot:
Vasyl'kiv district, Kyiv oblast'.



Page 298

2. VP-1655.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:
D. 21.5×18.5 mm.
H. 4 mm. W. 18.8 g. Hit,
hole at the upper part.

Find-spot:
Kyiv oblast'.



Page 298

Analogy:

- a) DO 55.1.4840;
- b) DO 58.106.150;
- c) Kyiv, Institute of
Archaeology of
National Academy of
Sciences of Ukraine;
- d-e) Private collections
(found in Ukraine).

Publ.:

- a) YANIN, Актовые
печати I 41; LAURENT,
Corpus V/1, 782;
- a-b) DOSeals I 85.4-a and b;
- c) ΣΑΝΑΙΔΑΚ, Δοσιδζηνня:
119; YANIN – GAIDUKOV,
Актовые печати III 41-2;
- d-e) ЗНУКОВ, О новых
находках, 4-5, 7.

Obv. Both cases figure a badly damaged
bust of St. Ioannes Prodromos with
long hairs hanging down to the shoul-
ders, the right hand probably is in a ges-
ture of allocution and his left one holds
a scroll. Only traces of the inscrip-
tions: ΙΩ – ΠΡ (ligated): [ὁ ἁ(γιος)]
Ἰω(άννης) [ὁ] Πρ(ό)δρομ(ος): St. Io-
annes Prodromos (the Precursor).

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ΚΕΡ,Θ,
.ΕΟΠΕΜ
.ΤΟΜΡΟ
Π,Λ,ΡΟΣ,

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [Θ]εοπέμ[π]τ(ω)
μ(η)ροπ(ο)λ(ίτη) Ροσ(ίας).
+ Lord help Theopemptos, metropolitan
of Rosia.

Border of dots.

Date:

ca. 1037–
ca. 1043.

Commentary:

After POC there is an abbreviation mark. The legend was probably followed by ornament, perhaps -. ²⁷³ Pi and Tau at the beginning of line 3 are ligated.

The five seals of Theopemptos probably constitute the oldest recorded specimens of metropolitan seals in Rus'. ²⁷⁴ There is not much evidence about this metropolitan apart from mentioning of his consecration of the Church of the Blessed Virgin in Kyiv in 1039. In September of the same year, he participated in a synode in Constantinople. ²⁷⁵ The two redactions of the chronicles give different spellings of the metropolitan's name: Theopomt ²⁷⁶ and Feopen't. ²⁷⁷ The Hustynia Chronicle, dated to the XVII century, mention the appointment of Theopemptos as metropolitan by Patriarch Alexios Stoudites (1025–1043) and the consecration of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in 1038 in Kyiv. ²⁷⁸ On the basis of the image of St. Ioannes the Baptist on the seals, it has been argued that Theopemptos had been a monk of the Monastery of Stoudiou in Constantinople. ²⁷⁹ The Church of the Blessed Virgin or the Desiatynna was founded by Prince Volodymyr in 991 and dedicated in 996. Written sources do not explain the reason behind the second consecration. Archaeological investigation has shown that the church was rebuilt in the XIth century which might be the reason for the second consecration. ²⁸⁰ In accordance with other scholars we date the seals to ca. 1037-ca. 1043. ²⁸¹ The paleography of the letters suggests a date slightly earlier than the middle of the XIth century.

Perhaps the seals originate from two different boulloteria, though only with minimal differences.

²⁷³ In *DOSeals* I 85.4a the editors assumed POC,-IA; LAURENT, *Corpus* V/1, 782 had even POC-CIA,

²⁷⁴ For the problem of the date of Ioannes' seals see no. II.III.1.A.1.

²⁷⁵ FICKER, *Erlasse* 42. Theopemptos is recorded as the last participant (12th) of the synod. Only the first three participants (of Ephesos, Kyzikos, and Nikomedeia) bore also the title of synkellos.

²⁷⁶ *PSRL* I 153.

²⁷⁷ *PSRL* II 141.

²⁷⁸ *Hustynia chronicle* 133.

²⁷⁹ ПОПРЕ, *Студиты* 136, no. 34.

²⁸⁰ ІВАКІН, *Літописні повідомлення* 11.

²⁸¹ BLAZEJOWSKYJ, *Kyivan Church* 65–66: – .1037. 1039. –; ПОПРЕ, *Metropolitan* 282: "um 1035 – 1040er Jahre", and p. 284: a beginning „vielleicht um 1034". Yanin, Gaidukov, and the editors of *DOSeals* dated „1037-ca. 1043".

3. Georgios, metropolitan of Rosia and synkellos

TYPE 1

1. VP-1580.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**

D. 19 mm. D₂. 15 mm.
H. 3.5 mm. W. 8.3 g.
Corroded.

Find-spot:

Zaitsi village, Chernihiv
district, Chernihiv oblast'.

2. VP-1581.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**

D. 21.5×11 mm. H. 2 mm.
W. 3.1 g. Half of seal.

Find-spot:

Peresopnytsia village, Rivne
district, Rivne oblast'.

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God, Episkepsis-type. Sigla: perhaps only **M** – **Θ**. Traces of the circular inscription: **+ΘΚΕΡ,Θ,ΤΩΨΔ**,; **Θ**(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ(ούλω): *Theotokos aid your servant.*
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

— + —
ΓΕΩΡΓ
ΜΡΟΠΟ
ΛΙΤ,ΡΩ
ΔΙΑ.

Date:

XIth c.
(perhaps
ca. 1065/1068 –
ca. 1073/1076).

+ Γεωργ(ίω) μ(ητ)ροπολίτ(η)
Ρωσία[ς].
+ *Georgios metropolitan of Rosia.*
Border of dots.

Commentary:

Georgios/Heorhii was appointed by patriarch Ioannes Xiphilinos (1064–1075). In 1072 he was present at the transfer of the relics of Sts. Borys and Hlib. An entry records that he was absent from the foundation of the Pecherska Lavra in 1073 since he was in Byzantium. Another note reveals that he was consecrated in 1072, that he remained in office for seven years and then returned home²⁸². The bishopric of Rostov was established between 1073 and 1076, when Georgios is said to have consecrated its first bishop, Leontii. There are different theories regarding the dating of Georgios' presence in the Rus'; Poppe prefers ca. 1065–ca. 1076,²⁸³ Yanin ca. 1068–ca. 1073.²⁸⁴ Georgios' predecessor, Ephraim, was still metropolitan in 1061 or 1067 while Ioannes/Ivan Prodrom, Georgios' successor, assumed his office in 1077 the latest.

Another type of seal of the same individual, also mentions the title synkellos and features a standing figure of St. Georgios on the obverse; that should date later.

²⁸² Cf. BLAZEJOWSKY, *Kyivan Church* 77.

²⁸³ POPPE, *Metropolitan* 286.

²⁸⁴ YANIN, *Актовые печати* I 43.

TYPE 2

3. VP-534.

Publ.:

ΑΛΦ'ΟΡΟΝ, Κατάλογ. 14.

Dimensions:D. 25×27 mm. D₂. 21 mm;

H. 5 mm. W. 19.2 g.

Find-spot:Yasnohorodka village,
Makariv district, Kyiv oblast'.**Analogies:**

- a) DO 47.2.1261;
- b) National Preserve
of Sophia of Kyiv;
- c) Numismatic department
of Hermitage, 21;
- d) National Preserve
of Sophia of Kyiv;
- e) Private collection, Ukraine
(found in v. Horodok,
Lutsk d., Volyn' o.);
- f) Private collection,
Sevastopol', Ukraine
(found in Chernihiv o.).

Publ.:

- a) *DOSeals* I 85.2
(small errors in the
transcription);
- b-c) YANIN, *Актовые
печати* I 43,1-2(-3);
- d) YANIN – GAIDUKOV,
Актовые печати
III 118, 43a²⁸⁵;
- e) unpublished;
- f) ЗНУКОВ, *О новых
находках*, 13.



Obv. Full-length standing figure of St. Georgios, his left hand leaning on an ornated shield with a shield-boss, and his right holding a spear. Inscription on either side: Ο[Α]ΓΙ[Ο]Σ – .[Ε]ΩΡ[Γ]Γ[Ε]: Ὁ ἅγιος [Γ]εώργ(ιος):
Saint Georgios.

Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΚΕΡΘ
ΓΕΩΡΓ, ΜΡΟ
Π'ΟΡΩΣΙΑΣ
. ΣΥΓΚΕΛ
• ΛΩ •

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Γεωργ(ί)ω
μ(ητ)ροπολ(ίτη) Ρωσίας [(καὶ)]
συγκέλλω.

+ *Lord help Georgios, metropolitan of Ro-
sia and synkellos.*

Border of dots.

Date:

perhaps
ca. 1067/1070–
ca. 1073/1076.

Commentary:

The military saint Georgios rarely appears on seals of bishops, but one can explain this irregularity on the grounds that the owner is a namesake of the saint.

This seal constitutes the second type of seal of the metropolitan Georgios²⁸⁶ since it reflects his assumption of the important ecclesiastical title of synkellos. Given that we know of seven specimens of this seal type, in contrast to only two of the elder one, it can be argued that the later type was used for a longer amount of time.

Page 299



²⁸⁵ This is a reused seal, with unclear vestiges of a former (bigger) imprint.

²⁸⁶ For this metropolitan see Type 1.

2. *Theopemptos, metropolitan of Rosia*

1. VP-336.



2. VP-1655.



3. Georgios, metropolitan of Rosia and synkellos

TYPE 1

1. VP-1580.



2. VP-1581.



TYPE 2

3. VP-534.



4. Nikephoros (I), metropolitan of Rosia

1. VP-1656.



Publ.:
Знуков, Печати иерархов
183, Nikifor I, no. 1
("Private collection,
found in Ukraine"²⁸⁷).

Dimensions:
D. 20.5×20 mm. H. 2.5 mm.
W. 5.6 g. Outbreaks on
both ends of the channel,
corroded. The channel of
the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:
Kyiv-Sviatoshyn district,
Kyiv oblast'.

2. VP-1657.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:
D. 19.5 mm. H. 5 mm.
W. 12.4 g. Blank too small
for die, struck off-center,
outbreaks at both ends
of the channel, corroded.
The channel of the seal
runs from 11 to 6 h.

Find-spot:
Pylypivka village, Zviahel'
ddistrict, Zhytomyr oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) Hermitage, Department
of Numismatics 22;
- b) Private collection in
Sevastopol', Ukraine
(found in Kyiv oblast');
- c-f) Private collections
(found in Ukraine);
- g) Private collection.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a
bust of Christ (not in a medallion) be-
fore her breast. Remains of the sigla:
MP – **ΘV**: Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εο)ῦ: *Mother
of God.*

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΑΓΝΗ
ΣΚΕΠΟΙΣ
ΜΕΡΟΣΙΑΣ
ΝΙΚΗΦ,
ΡΟΝ

Date:
1104–1121.

[+]'Αγνή, σκέποις με Ροσίας
Νίκηφ(ό)ρον.
+ *Pure Maiden, may you protect me, Ni-
kephoros of Rosia.*

Border of dots.

Publ.:

- a) ЛІХНАСНІВ, Матеріали
II 4; LAURENT, *Corpus*
V/1, 787; YANIN,
Актовые печати I 46;
KUPRANIS, Датируемые
печати иерархов 4;
BULGAKOVA, *Osteuropa*
3.2.3.5, Stempelvariante
1; WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus I 27 a;
- b) Знуков, Печати
иерархов 184,
Nikifor I, no. 5;
- c-f) Знуков, Печати
иерархов 183–184,
Nikifor I, no. 2–4 and 6;
- g) BUTYRSKII – ORETSKAYA,
*Запечатлевшие
усторю*, 115.

Commentary:

The second specimen of this type of seal, clearly demonstrates that there is an abbreviation mark after the Phi in the name, though the last line disturbs the inner symmetry.

Apart from this type of seal, this metropolitan Nikephoros used another quite similar one. Its main differences are its mention of Ρωσίας instead of Ροσίας and of the name in full form instead of an abbreviated one²⁸⁸. Today, we know of eleven seals which belonged to this metropolitan.

Nikephoros / Nykyfor arrived in Kyiv December 6, 1104, and was enthroned in December 18. Between 1105 and 1114 he consecrated some bishops. In 1115 he participated at the transfer of the relics of Sts. Borys and Hlib. He died in 1121.²⁸⁹ His successor Nykyta arrived in Kyiv in 1122.

²⁸⁷ Without the permission of the owner.

²⁸⁸ a) Hermitage, Num. Dept. 23; ed. YANIN, *Актовые печати I* 47; KUPRANIS, Датируемые печати иерархов 5; BULGAKOVA, *Osteuropa* 3.2.3.5, Stempelvariante 1; WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus I* 27 a; b-d) Знуков, Печати иерархов 184, Nikifor I, no. 7–9 (all in private collections, one found in Zhytomyr oblast', the others somewhere in Ukraine).

²⁸⁹ BLAZEJOWSKY, *Kyivan Church* 79–80; POPPE, *Metropolitan* 287, no. 11 (also mentions his literary activities).

Nikephoros(I), metropolitan of Rosia

1. VP-1656.



2. VP-1657.



5. Niketas, bishop (metropolitan) of Rosia

1. VP-29.



Publ.:
Знуков, Печати иерархов
185, Nikita, no. 5
(according to him found
in v. Bilohorodka, Kyivo-
Sviatoshyn d., Kyiv obl.).
From "Private collection"²⁹⁰.

Dimensions:
D. 23×22 mm. H. 5 mm.
W. 13.2 g. Blank too small
for die. The channel of the
seal runs from 12 to 5 h.

Find-spot:
Turovets' village, Zhytomyr
district, Zhytomyr oblast'.

2. VP-1559.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:
D. 17×18 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 6.2 g. Hit. Blank too
small for die. The channel of
the seal runs from 11 to 7 h.

Find-spot:
Ukraine.

Analogies:

- a) former Zacos
collection (perhaps
now in Paris, BnF);
b-e) Private collections
(two found in Zviahel' d.,
Zhytomyr o., one
in Bilohorodka v., Kyiv-
Sviatoshyn d., Kyiv o.,
and one in Ukraine).

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God "of
the Sign" (Episkepsis), with a bust of
Christ within a circular medallion. In-
scription above her hands: $\overline{\text{MP}} - \overline{\text{ΘV}}$:
Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εο)ῦ: *Mother of God*.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ΣΦΡΑΓΙ .
ΝΙΚΗΤΑΡΩ
ΣΙΑΣΕΠΙΣΚ
ΟΠΟΥ

+ Σφραγι[ς] Νικήτα Ρωσίας
ἐπισκόπου.

+ *The seal of Niketas, bishop of Rosia.*

Border of dots.

Date:

1122–1126.

Publ.:

- a) ZACOS II 645; BULGAKOVA,
Osteuropa 3.2.3.6; YANIN –
GAIDUKOV, *Актовые
печати* III 47a; VASSILIOU-
SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* II 2671;
b-e) Знуков, Печати
иерархов 184–185,
Nikita, no. 1–4.

Commentary:

The end of the first line is not wholly legible, but probably there was a *lota* followed by a tall Sigma. At the end of the last line there is an oblique bar (better visible on the parallel seal).

Although this probably is the seal of the metropolitan of Rus', he merely mentions himself as a bishop, perhaps *metri causa*, producing a dodecasyllable. The epigraphy suggests an attribution to the metropolitan Nykyta/Niketas, who arrived in Kyiv in 1122 (as the successor of Nykyfor/Nikephoros, who had passed away in 1121). In 1123 he consecrated Symeon as bishop of Volodymyr. Markos, Niketas' candidate for the bishopric of Pereiaslav, managed to acquire this post only in 1125, after Monomach's death. Niketas died in 1126.²⁹¹

An alternative candidate is a Nykyta/Niketas who was consecrated in 1113 and served as bishop of Bilhorod. Although he was present at the transfer of the relics of Sts. Borys and Hlib by the metropolitan Nikephoros in 1115 there is no later information about him.²⁹² Was this bishop upgraded as metropolitan of the Rus'?

²⁹⁰ Without the permission of the owner.

²⁹¹ BLAZEJOWSKY, *Kyivan Church* 80; POPPE, *Metropolitan* 287–288.

²⁹² BLAZEJOWSKY, *Kyivan Church* 93.

1. VP-29.



2. VP-1559.



6. Michael II, (metropolitan) of Rosia

1. VP-469.



Publ.:

ALF'OROV, Каталог 16;
cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2609.

Dimensions:

D. 15.5 mm. H. 4 mm.
W. 6.1 g.

Find-spot:

Zhytomyr oblast'.



Page 307

2. VP-224.



Publ.:

ALF'OROV, Молівдовули
23–25; ALF'OROV,
Молівдовули Київського 1;
ЗНУКОВ, Печати иерархов
186, Michael II, no. 5.

Dimensions:

D. 14×17 mm. D₂. 13 mm.
H. 4 mm. W. 5.1 g.

Find-spot:

Pashkivka village, Makariv
district, Kyiv oblast'.



Page 307

3. VP-426.



Publ.:

ALF'OROV, Молівдовули
Київського 2; ЗНУКОВ,
Печати иерархов 186,
Michael II, no. 6.

Dimensions:

D. 15×16 mm. D₂. 13 mm.
H. 4 mm. W. 6 g.

Find-spot:

between villages Ukrainka
and Yaltsivka on the river
Irsha, Malyn district,
Zhytomyr oblast'.



Page 307

4. VP-65.



Publ.:

ALF'OROV, Молівдовули
Київського 3; ЗНУКОВ,
Печати иерархов 186,
Michael II, no. 7.

Dimensions:

D. 13×16 mm. H. 4 mm.
W. 4.8 g. Chipped.

Find-spot:

Hrubs'ke village, Korostyshiv
district, Zhytomyr oblast'.



Page 308

5. VP-425.



Publ.:

ALF'OROV, Молівдовули
Київського 4; ЗНУКОВ,
Печати иерархов 186,
Michael II, no. 8.

Dimensions:

D. 16×18 mm. D₂. 13 mm.
H. 5.5 mm. W. 8.2 g.
Broken at the channel.

Find-spot:

Holovky village, Malyn
district, Zhytomyr
oblast'.



Page 308

6. VP-132.



Publ.:

ΑΛΦ'ΟΡΟΝ, Μολιβδουλι
Київського 5; Знукон,
Печати иерархов 186,
Michael II, no. 9.

Dimensions:

D. 13×16 mm.
H. 4 mm. W. 4 g.

Find-spot:

Skochyshe village, Brusyliv
district, Zhytomyr
oblast'.



Page 309

7. VP-495.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 18×20 mm.
D₂. 13 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 6.2 g. Smoothed.

Find-spot:

near Chudniv village,
Chudniv district,
Zhytomyr oblast'.



Page 309

Analogies:

- a) "Bucharest, Museum";
- b) IFEB-600;
- c) Private collection
in Sevastopol', Ukraine
(found in Ukraine);
- d-f) Private collections
(found in Ukraine).

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God "of
the Sign" (Episkepsis-type) and a bust
of Christ within a circular medallion
before her breast; inscription above
her hands: $\bar{M} - \bar{\Theta}$: Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εοῦ):
Mother of God.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΣΦΡΑΓ,
Μ^ΧΙΠ^ΙΜΕ
ΝΑΡΧΗΡ
ΩΣΙΑΣ

Date:

1130–1145
(before
1156).

Σφραγ(ις) Μιχ(αήλ) π(οι)μενάρχου
Ρωσίας.

Seal of Michael, chief shepherd of Rosia.

Border of dots.

Publ.:

- a) BARNEA, Sigiliul ierarh
189–197; BARNEA,
À propos 475–478; YANIN,
Актовые печати I 48, 48;
- a-b) LAURENT, *Corpus* V/1,
788; WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2609;
- c-f) Знукон, Печати
иерархов 186,
Michael II, no.1–4.

Commentary:

Literary sources regard this metropolitan Michael as Michael II since they mention some legendary figure of the late X c. as Michael I.²⁹³ Ποιμενάρχης is a common paraphrase for metropolitan in metrical verses.

Though his predecessor Niketas had passed away in 1126, Michael/Mykhail only came to Kyiv in 1130 and soon consecrated Niphon as bishop of Novgorod. The biography of the metropolitan Michael is largely unknown²⁹⁴ respectively disputed. According to the Hypatian Chronicle he arrived in the Rus' in 1130/1131.²⁹⁵

Michael became famous as an arbitrator between the sons of Volodymyr Monomach and the Olhovych branch of the princely family. In 1134 he was in Novgorod to stop the war of Vsevolod and Iziaslav, sons of Mstyslav, against their uncle Yurii Dovhorukyi. He was even put to prison for his interference in politics.²⁹⁶ During this time he probably became close with the Novgorodian bishop Niphon who later became a supporter of his "rukopisanie" (see below). He also took part in settling disputes between Yaropolk Volodymyrovych (1139–1146) and Vsevolod Olhovych (1139–1146).²⁹⁷ In 1140 he was dispatched by Prince Viacheslav to prevent the burning of Kyiv by Prince Vsevolod Olhovych of Chernihiv during the attempt of the latter to capture the city.²⁹⁸

Michael was an active ecclesiastical leader as well. In 1137 he established a bishopric in Smolensk and appointed a Greek singer as bishop, Manuel.²⁹⁹ In 1143 he ordained Onouphrios and Kosmas as bishops of Chernihiv³⁰⁰ and Polotsk respectively, and one year later Ioakim as bishop of Turov³⁰¹.

The last time we hear of him in the sources is in 1145 when he left for Constantinople.³⁰² Despite his departure and in accordance with church law, he remained as the metropolitan of the Rus'. In his *rukopisanie* (τὸ χειρόγραφον) he forbade the holding of service in the cathedral of St. Sofia in his absence. As many bishops and dynasts were not content having a permanently absent metropolitan, in 1147 Prince Iziaslav and six Rus'ian bishops appointed Klym Smoliatych as a metropolitan. The patriarch did not acknowledge Klym's appointment and only replaced Michael with a new metropolitan (Konstantinos) in 1156, after Michael's death.³⁰³

²⁹³ Cf. POPPE, *Metropolitan* 283.

²⁹⁴ LEBEDINCEV, Михаил 323–324; POPPE, *Metropolitan* 288–289.

²⁹⁵ PSRL II 294.

²⁹⁶ NPL 208.

²⁹⁷ PSRL II 299.

²⁹⁸ PSRL II 302–303.

²⁹⁹ PSRL II 300.

³⁰⁰ PSRL II 313.

³⁰¹ PSRL II 314.

³⁰² PSRL I 312.

³⁰³ Cf. BLAZEJOWSKY, *Kyivan Church* 82; LEBEDINCEV, Михаил 323–324; POPPE, *Metropolitan* 288–289.

Michael II, (metropolitan) of Rosia

1. VP-469.



2. VP-224.



3. VP-426.



Michael II, (metropolitan) of Rosia

4. VP-65.



5. VP-425.



6. VP-132.



7. VP-495.



7. Konstantinos I, metropolitan of all Rosia

1. VP-1229.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 25×24 mm. H. 2 mm.
W. 6.5 g. Blank too small for the die, break at both ends of the channel, corroded; two holes at top of the seal.

Find-spot:

Mena city, Mena district, Chernihiv oblast'.



Page 312

2. VP-1205.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 18×25 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 5.3 g. Blank too small for the? die, breaks at both ends of the channel; a quarter in the upper part is broken away.

Find-spot:

Falenychi village, Volodymyr district, Volyn' oblast'.



Page 312

3. VP-1629.



Publ.:

Знуков, Печати иерархов 189, Konstantinos II, no. 3 (according to him found in Lviv o.). From "Private collection".³⁰⁴

Dimensions:

D. 19×27 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 9 g. Half of the seal.

Find-spot:

Horodyshe village, Zboriv district, Ternopil oblast'.



Page 313

4. VP-239.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 15×23 mm. H. 2 mm.
W. 4.2 g. Blank too small for the die, a half is missing.

Find-spot:

Kaharlyk city, Kaharlyk district, Kyiv oblast'.



Page 313

5. VP-1120.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 16×13 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 2.6 g. Blank too small for the die, only a quarter of the seal survives.

Find-spot:

Horokhiv district, Volyn' oblast'.



Page 313

³⁰⁴ Without the permission of the owner.

Analogy:

- a) modern storage location unknown (perhaps Lviv; found in Krylos v., Halych d., Ivano-Frankiv'sk o.);
- b) former Zvenyhorod church collection, modern storage location unknown;
- c) Private collection (found in Zhytomyr o.);
- d) Private collection (found in Lviv o.);
- e) Private collection (found in Dorohobush v., Rivne o.);
- f-g) Private collections.

Publ.:

- a) PASTERNAK, *Галич* 83.2; РАТУСН, *Древньоруські* 9.5; ЯНІН, *Актовіе печати* I 51.1;
- b) HRUSHEVS'KYI, *Звенигород* 20; ЛІКНАСНЕВ, *Матеріали* II 5, 4; SWIENCICKI, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel* 434, 436; SOLOVIEV, *Metropolitensiegel* 296, pl. IV, no. III; ЯНІН, *Актовіе печати* I 51.3;
- c-g) ЗНУКОВ, *Печати ієрархів* 189, Konstantin II, no. 1–2, 4–5.

AD 1907 the Hermitage bought a "chrysobull" (today Numismatic Department 2362) made similar to this seal type,³⁰⁵ but that is probably a modern fake from the beginning of the XXth century.

Obv. The Mother of God seated on a backless throne, holding Christ on her lap. The maphorion spreads out over the throne (which is not visible on our pieces). Sigla: **MP – ΘV**: Μ(ή)τηρ Θ(εο)ῦ: *Mother of God*.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

— + —
 ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝ
 ΤΙΝΟCΕΛΕΩ
 ΘΥΜΡΟΠΟΛ.
 ΤΗΣΠΑCΗ.
 . ΩCΙ . .

+ Κωνσταντῖνος ἐλέω Θ(εο)ῦ
 μ(η)τροπολ[ί]της πάση[ς Ρ]ωσί[ας].
 + *Konstantinos, by the grace of God*
metropolitan of all Rosia.

Border of dots.

Date:

1155–1159.

Commentary:

In contrast to previous theories, we argue that this Konstantinos was the earlier of the two twelfth-century metropolitans with the same name. We also believe that our no. 9 of this list constitutes a later type of seal.

The formula ἐλέω Θεοῦ on patriarchal seals was introduced by Patriarch Kosmas Hierosolymites (1075–1081).³⁰⁶

Konstantinos, an erudite theologian, was appointed as metropolitan by the patriarch in the autumn of 1155 and arrived in Kyiv in 1156 (after April 15), where he was solemnly received by the bishops of Polotsk and Smolensk and by the kniaz' Yurii Dolhorukyi.³⁰⁷ Konstantinos banished the supporters of Klym Smoliatych, who was appointed metropolitan in 1147, in the Rus'ian Synod of Five Bishops, but forced to leave Kyiv. For the appointment of Klym Smoliatych was opposed by the patriarch as well as the bishops of Novgorod and Smolensk.³⁰⁸ Konstantinos, along with "all hegumens", saved the life of the imprisoned kniaz' Ivan Berladnyk. Konstantinos and the others prevented kniaz' Yurii Dolhorukyi from surrendering Ivan to the hands of Yaroslav Osmomysl, kniaz' of Halych.³⁰⁹ The same year he consecrated Arkadios, bishop of Novgorod.³¹⁰ While Konstantinos was held in high esteem by Rostyslav, Iziaslav's brother, he was in bad terms with Mstyslav Iziaslavych and in 1159 was compelled to leave Kyiv for Chernihiv, where he died in the same year.³¹¹ Konstantinos was proclaimed saint.³¹²

³⁰⁵ Cf. at last. GURULEVA, Хрисовул 121–129 (who nevertheless thinks about the original).

³⁰⁶ Cf. Zacos II 18; DOSeals VI 119. Also the obverse of the patriarchal seals is similar.

³⁰⁷ PSRL I 347; II 483.

³⁰⁸ Konstantinos had put an anathema on him and kniaz' Iziaslav.

³⁰⁹ PSRL II 488.

³¹⁰ NPL 217–218.

³¹¹ PSRL I 349.

³¹² BLAZEJOWSKY, *Kyivan Church* 80–81; POPPE, *Metropolitan* 290, no. 14.

7. Konstantinos I, metropolitan of all Rosia

1. VP-1229.



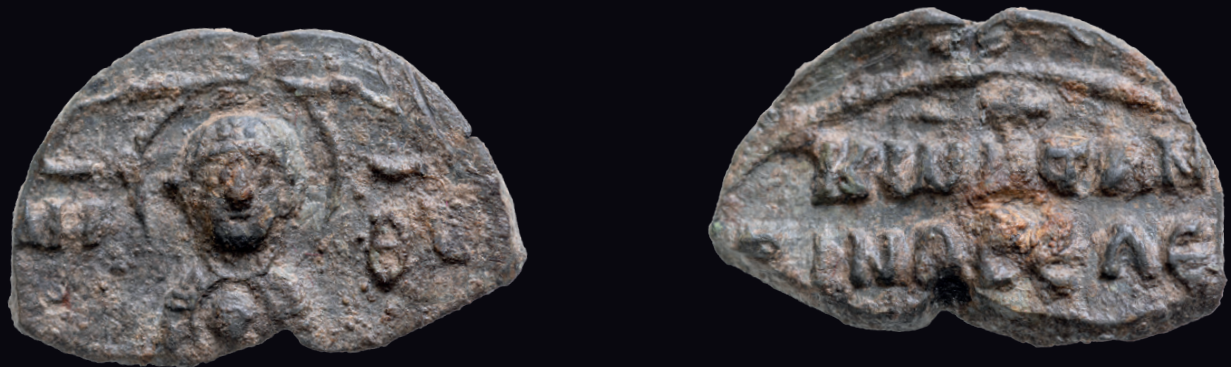
2. VP-1205.



3. VP-1629.



4. VP-239.



5. VP-1120.



8. Ioannes IV, Ρωσικοῦ ποιμὴν ἔθνους

VP-398.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 33 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 10.9 g. Two
parts, restored.

Find-spot:

Pidpechery village,
Tysmenytsia district,
Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast'.

Analogies:

Two seals in Private
collections (one in Kyiv).

Unpublished.



Obv. The Virgin seated on a backless throne, holding Christ on her lap. The throne is richly decorated. Although this iconography is common for patriarchal seals of this period, our seal features the Theotokos sitting on two pillows, a depiction which is quite rare.

Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of six lines:

Date:

1164–1166.

... ΗΦ...
.... ΚΑΙΣ...
ΕΘΩΣΩΚΡ...
ΤΙΩΣΟCΡΩC...
ΚΟΝΠΟΙΜΗ...
ΕΘΝΟΝC

[Σὴ ψ]ῆφ[ος, ἀγνή,] καὶ σ[κέπ'] ἔσθω
σῶ κρ[ά]τ(ει) Ἰω(άννης) σὸς
Ρωσ[ι]κοῦ ποιμὴ[ν] ἔθνους.
*Chaste (Theotokos), Ioannes, your
shepherd of the Ros'ian people, should
be your judgement (decree, vote) and
help with your might.*

Since almost one third of the seal is missing, so is the largest part of the first verse. Based on a parallel piece the legend can be reconstructed as follows: CH ΨΗΦΟΣ | ΑΓΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΕ|Π
ΕΘΩ CΩ ΚΡΑ|Τ,

The Eta in σκέπη is omitted in regard of the following Epsilon to produce a proper dodecasyllable (B 5). The legend means, that Ioannes should make his decisions in the sense of the Theotokos and he should be of help for his people with her might.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

This fastidious legend reflects the metropolitan's high level of education and comprehension of Greek. He invokes the Mother of God to divinely inspire him, to guide his judgement in ecclesiastical courts. In a similar way, the Apostolic institutions remind the bishop that he should judge as if Christ himself sat with him as a fellow judge deciding together with him.³¹³ Ioannes was probably a member of the patriarchal clergy, perhaps he had held the office of Ekklesekdikos or even Protekdikos.

³¹³ METZGER, *Apostoliques*, book II 47.2: καθότι καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ σύμψηφον ἔχει καὶ συνίστορα τῆς δίκης τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. For his advice we thank John Cotsonis.



The seal dates from the second half of the XII century. Two are the most probable owners of this seal. After the metropolitan Theodoros/Teodor had passed away in 1163, an Ivan/loannes was consecrated in his place. Ivan arrived in Kyiv in 1164 but he was barely accepted by kniaz' Rostyslav because the latter preferred Klym Smoliatych. In 1165 loannes consecrated Illia archbishop of Novgorod and one year later loannes passed away.³¹⁴

His successor Konstantinos/Konstantyn arrived in Kyiv in 1167. In 1169 he condemned and severely punished Theodor, bishop of Rostov, Vladymyr and Suzdal'. Some scholars suggest that Konstantinos died in 1174, but before his alleged death, we know that Michael replaced him as metropolitan in 1171 the latest. In 1174 (or 1171?) an unnamed metropolitan of Kyiv met kniaz' Roman Rostyslavych.³¹⁵ Only the Hustynia Chronicle calls this metropolitan Ivan.³¹⁶ Perhaps this Ivan did not exist.³¹⁷ In this case the seal certainly belonged to the aforementioned loannes IV.

Previous scholarship erroneously attributed two other types of seals to metropolitan loannes IV. They have a bust of the Theotokos Episkepsis on the obverse. The three known pieces of the first type³¹⁸ have an inscription on the reverse which reads: +ΘΚΕ – R,Θ, ΙΩΜΡΟ-ΠΟΛΡΩΣΙ-ΑΣ. The second type, known by a single specimen,³¹⁹ has a slightly different inscription on the reverse: +ΘΚΕ – ΡΟΗΘΕΙ - ΙΩΜΡΟΤΟ – ΡΟCΙΑ.³²⁰ In addition, the dating of these two types of seals in the second half of the XIIth century is also problematic. The seals fit better to the last third of the XIth century, a dating which was also proposed by the editors of the seal in Dumbarton Oaks. In this period there were two metropolitans called loannes, loannes II Prodomos and loannes III ("the Eunuch"); we prefer to attribute the seals to the latter one, who was metropolitan from 1090–1091.³²¹

³¹⁴ ПОРРЕ, Metropolitan 291–292; BLAZEJOWSKY, *Kyivan Church* 81.

³¹⁵ PSRL II 568. Cf. BLAZEJOWSKY, *Kyivan Church* 82. ПОРРЕ, Metropolitan 293–294 prefers the date 1171 for this meeting with Kniaz' Roman.

³¹⁶ The same chronicle reports the appointment of loannes for the year 1176.

³¹⁷ ПОРРЕ, Metropolitan 294, did not accept a metropolitan between Michael II and Nikephoros II.

³¹⁸ a) DO 47.2.358, ed. DOSeals I 85.2; b) ЯНИН – ГАЙДУКОВ, *Актовые печати* III 50-2; c) private collection (found in Kyiv oblast'), ed. ЗНУКОВ, *Печати иерархов* 188, Ioann IV.

³¹⁹ Coll. Kupranis, ed. ЯНИН – ГАЙДУКОВ, *Актовые печати* III 50a.

³²⁰ The Tau instead of the Pi in the third line is very strange, but the exemplar looks like an original.

³²¹ Cf. ПОРРЕ, Metropolitan 287; BLAZEJOWSKY, *Kyivan Church* 78.

9. Konstantinos II, proedros of Rosia

1. VP-32.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:

Kvitneve village, Popil'nia district, Zhytomyr oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 30×31.5 mm. D₂: 24 mm; H. 4 mm. W. 17.9 g. Corroded, hit, chipped. The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

2. VP-1654.



Publ.:

BIŁYK – SHULHAI, Київські сакралії 14; cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metz. Corpus* II 2775.

Find-spot:

Krylos village, Halych district, Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 29 mm. D₂: 24 mm. H. 4.5 mm. W. 16.6 g. Hit, chipped. The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 6 h.

Analopies:

- a) Athens, Benaki 13923;
- b) Auction Gorny & Mosch 160, 8.-9.10. 2007, no. 2843;
- c) Private collection (found in Kyiv oblast').

Obv. The Virgin seated on a backless throne, holding Christ on her lap resembles the seals of Konstantinos I above. Sigla: $\overline{MP} - \overline{OV}$: M(ήτ)ηρ Θ(εο)ῦ: Mother of God.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

Date:

1167–
1170/1171.

— . —
+CΦΡΑ
ΓΙCΠΡΟΕΔΡΩ
ΡΩCΙΑCΚΩΝ
ΤΑΝΤΙΝΩ

+Σφραγίς προέδρου Ρωσίας
Κωνσταντίνου.

+ Seal of Konstantinos proedros (metro-
politan) of Rus'.

Border of dots.

Publ.:

- a) LAURENT, *Corpus* V/1, 789; YANIN, *Актовые печати* I 49; KUPRANIS, *Датированные печати иерархов* 8; BULGAKOVA, *Osteuropa* 3.2.3.8; KARAGIORGOU, Benaki Museum 34;
- a-b) WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metz. Corpus* II 2775;
- c) Знукон, *Печати иерархов* 187–188, Konstantin I; Nechytailo I 118, no. 462.

Commentary:

Since the first edition of the seal, there is agreement among scholars as regards the transcription of the reverse, the same, however, does not apply to the obverse. Laurent described it correctly, but he included in his album an image of a different seal (featuring St. Stephanos), while Wassil-iou-Seibt perceived the obverse as a bust of Theotokos Episkepsis. The dating of the seal is equally problematic with most scholars attributing it to Konstantinos I,³²² but with the present editors preferring Konstantinos II. The ligature Omikron-Ypsilon appears in the form δ and the overall impression makes this type apparently later than the other one.

Konstantinos / Konstantyn was consecrated in 1167³²³ and arrived in Kyiv on November 1 of the same year.³²⁴ He was a firm champion of church law and resented the fact that it was not strictly upheld in the

³²² The auction catalogue gives an unhelpfull vast dating: X–XII c.

³²³ Only 18 years after Konstantinos I had passed away.

³²⁴ NPL 217–218. In this year kniaz' Mstyslav Iziaslavych was installed in Kyiv.

1. VP-32.



2. VP-1654.



Rus'. In 1168 he imposed a penalty (ἐπιτιμία) on Polykarpos, abbot of the Kyivan Cave Monastery for ignoring the fast days on Wednesday and Friday. In 1169/1170 kniaz' Andri Boholiubs'kyi sent Teodorets', bishop of Rostov-Suzdal', to the metropolitan who should judge Teodorets' crime; Konstantyn's judgement was quite severe.³²⁵ Konstantyn was probably dead in 1170/1171, because a certain Michael (unattested in the Rus'ian chronicles) signed the patriarchal tomos of March 24, 1171 as metropolitan of Rus'.³²⁶

³²⁵ PSRL I 354. 355–356; II 551–553. Perhaps Teodorets had denied the right of the Greek metropolitan to interfere into the office of the local church.

³²⁶ Cf. GRUMEL, *Regestes* III 1120; LAURENT, *Corpus* V/1, 790; POPPE, *Metropolitanen* 292–294. Perhaps Michael had been elected shortly before this date, but did not arrive in Kyiv or was active there only for a short amount of time.

10. Michael III, ποιμενάρχης of Rosia

1. VP-232.



Publ.:
Знуков, Печати иерархов
186, Michail II, no. 10
("Private collection,
found in Ukraine" ³²⁷).

Dimensions:
D. 20 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 5.8 g. Blank too
small for the die.

Find-spot:
Nosivka village, Volodymyr
district, Volyn' oblast'.



Page 326

2. VP-1658.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:
D. 18 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 5.1 g. Blank too small
for die, corroded.

Find-spot:
Hrubs'ke village, Korostyshiv
district, Zhytomyr oblast'.



Page 326

Analopies:
a-d) Private collections.

Publ.:
a-d) Знуков, Печати
иерархов 186–187,
Michail II, no. 11–14
(no. 12 without a photo,
as the given one stems
from the no. 5).

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God with
the child on her left arm (Hodeget-
ria type). Mary's right hand points to
Christ, who has a scroll in his left hand.
Very fine work of the best quality
(probably Constantinopolitan). Inscrip-
tion: **ΜΡ – Θ.**: Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εο)[ύ]:
Mother of God.
No visible border.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

. ΦΡΑΓΙΣ
ΜΙΧΑΗΛ
ΠΟΙΜΕΝΑΡ
ΧΩΡΩΣΙΑΣ

[Σ]φραγίς Μιχαήλ ποιμενάρχου
Ρωσίας.
Seal of Michael, chief shepherd of Rosia.
No visible border.

Date:
ca. 1170/1171.

³²⁷ Without the permission of the owner.

Commentary:

Contrary to the common and low-quality seals of Michael II, metropolitan of Rus', who resided in Kyiv ca. 1130–1145,³²⁸ this type of seal originates from a boulloterion of the finest quality and clearly bears the ligature Ⲅ (which became popular again around the middle of the XIIth c.). Either this boulloterion was cut in Constantinople, after Michael II had returned to the Byzantine capital (he died there 1156 at the latest), or it belonged to a later metropolitan.

According to the *tomos* of the patriarchal synod of March 24, 1171,³²⁹ there was among the participants, a certain Michael, metropolitan of Rus'.³³⁰ This important account had been overlooked by Russian historians for a long time, till Andrzej Poppe brought it to the attention of scholars.³³¹ Michael's predecessor Konstantinos II had arrived in Kyiv in 1167. He is mentioned in the Lavrentian Chronicle under the entry for 1169 and in the Hypatian one under that of 1172, in connection with the accusation and punishment of Teodorets, the bishop of Rostov-Suzdal'.³³² Only the first date is correct. Michael was consecrated as metropolitan of the Rus' in the first quarter of 1171 at the latest. He was apparently the (anonymous) metropolitan who along with the archimandrite of the Kyivan Cave Monastery (Pechers'ka Lavra) headed the solemn procession of the town-people during the installation of kniaz' Roman Rostyslavych in Kyiv, probably in July 1171.³³³

We do not know the date of Michael's death, but perhaps he was the metropolitan Michael, who was entombed in the Pechers'ka Lavra.³³⁴

Another type of seal of the same metropolitan was published recently. Its obverse is quite similar to our type but the reverse legend preserves a little variation: **ϢΦΡΑ-ΓΙϢ ΜΙΧΠΟΙ-ΜΕΝΑΡΧΥ - ΡΩϢΙΑϢ**.³³⁵ The ligature Omikron-Ypsilon demonstrates that this type of seal dates earlier than ours.

³²⁸ Cf. no. II.III.1A.6

³²⁹ On the swearing of an oath to emperors Manuel I Komnenos and his son Alexios II.

³³⁰ PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ανάλεκτα* 109, 17, in: (Μιχαήλ τοῦ Ἀγγιᾶλου) τόμος τῆς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κύριον Μανουὴλ ἐγγραφῆς τῶν τότε ἀρχιερέων; cf. GRUMEL, *Regestes* III 1120.

³³¹ POPPE, *Metropolitan* 292–294, no. 18; Russian version: POPPE, *Митрополиты* 460–461.

³³² *PSRL* I 355–357; II 551–553.

³³³ The Hypatian chronicle reports mistakenly that this event took place in 1174: *PSRL* II 568, cf. POPPE, *Metropolitan* 293. – But the *Hust. Chronicle* (for 1174) erroneously calls this metropolitan Ivan; cf. also BLAZEJOWSKY, *Kyivan Church* 82.

³³⁴ Cf. POPPE, *Metropolitan* 288 and 294.

³³⁵ NECHYTAILO I 460.

11. Nikephoros II, ποιμενάρχης of all Rosia

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-12.

Publ.:

SEIBT, Surnames 87–88 with fig. 4; VASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* 1490; ΖΗΚΟΒ, Ierarkhov 189–190, Nikifor II, 1 (“Private collection, found in Ukraine”).

Dimensions:

D. 33×34 mm. D₂. 27 mm. H. 6 mm. W. 33.6 g. The channel of the seal runs from 2 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

Stanishivka village, Zhytomyr district, Zhytomyr oblast’.

Analogies:

a) Hermitage, Department of Numismatics 24 (former Likhachev collection); b) Private collection (found in Ukraine).

Publ.:

a) ЛІХАЧЕВ, Альбом LIII/5; ЛІХАЧЕВ, *Матеріали* II 3; SOLOVIEV, *Metropolitensiegel* 297, V/10; LAURENT, *Corpus* V/1, 791; ЯНИН, *Актовые печати* I 52; BULGAKOVA, *Osteuropa* 3.2.3.9; b) ΖΗΚΟΒ, *Печати иерархов* 189–190, Nikifor II, 2.



Page 327

Obv. Inscription of four lines (with a damaged relatively big ornament at the bottom)³³⁶:

+
ΝΙΚΗΦΟ
ΡΟΝΣΚΕΠΟΙΣ
ΜΕΤΟΝΤΩ
ΠΡΟΜΥΡΩ

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΤΟΝ
ΠΟΙΜΕΝΑΡ
ΧΗΝ ΡΩΣΙ
ΑΣ ΠΑΣΗΣ
ΛΟΓΕ·

+ Νικηφόρον σκέποις με τὸν τοῦ πρὸ Μύρου τὸν ποιμενάρχην Ρωσίας πάσης, Λόγε.
+ *Logos* (scil. Christ), protect me, Nikephoros, (nephew) of the elected (metropolitan) of Myra, himself metropolitan of all Rosia.

Border of dots.

At the end of the last line there is a thin ornament, probably two dots and a short bar; we assume that there was another ornament at the beginning of the last line.

³³⁶ At right an oblique bar.

b) second boulloterion

2. VP-1151.

Publ.:

SEIBT, Surnames
88–89 with fig. 5.

Dimensions:

D. 37×36 mm. D₂. 28 mm.
H. 6 mm. W. 39.3 g. Break
of the channel on the centre
(obverse), hit, chipped.
The channel of the seal
runs from 11 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

Hrubs'ke village, Korostyshiv
district, Zhytomyr oblast'.

**Obv.** Inscription of five lines:

+
ΣΚΕΠΟΙΣ
ΤΡΙΑΣΦΙ
ΦΩΤ. ΤΟΝ
ΤΩΠΡΟΜΥ
ΡΩΝ

Border of dots.**Rev.** Inscription of five lines:

ΥΠΕΡΤΙ
ΜΟΝΤΕΡΩ
ΙΑΣΝΙΚΗ
. ΟΡΟΝ

+ Σκέποις, Τριάς τρί-φωτ[ε], τὸν τοῦ
πρὸ Μύρων
ὑπέρτιμόν τε Ρω[σ]ίας Νικη[φ]όρον.
+ *Holy Trinity, thrice-brilliant, protect Ni-
kephoros, (nephew) of the elected (met-
ropolitan) of Myra, himself metropolitan
of Rosia, with the title Hypertimos.*

The ligature of Tau and Rho in l. 2 of
the obverse is rare and remarkable.

Border of dots.

A very similar though less pretentious
seal was published by Nechytailo.³³⁷
The legend reads: + ΣΚΕΠΩ . | Σ ΤΡΙΑΣ
ΤΡ| . ΦΩΤΕ ΤΟ . | ΤΟΥ ΠΡ . | Μ . .
. // + ΥΠΕΡ|ΤΙΜΟΙ Τ, | ΡΩΣΙΑΣ |
ΝΙΚΗΦΩ| . . .



Page 327

³³⁷ NECHYTAILO | 468.

c) *third boulloterion*

3. VP-33.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 30×35 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 22.4 g. Blank too small
for die, hit. The channel of
the seal runs from 2 to 8 h.

Find-spot:

Pashkivka village, Makariv
district, Kyiv oblast'.



Obv. Traces of the inscription on five
lines:

+CΚΕ...
.....
.....
ΤΟΝΤΟ.
Ρ.....

The legend starts probably with σκέποις
and ends with τὸν τοῦ πρὸ Μύρων.

No visible border.



Rev. Traces of the inscription of four
lines:

.ΠΕΡΤ.
.....
... ΝΙΚ.
.....

The legend starts probably with
ὑπέρτιμον and ends with Νικηφόρον.

No visible border.



d) fourth boulloterion

4. VP-69.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 30×35 mm. H. 3 mm.

W. 22.4 g. Blank too small for die, hit.

Find-spot:

Slobidka village, Korostyshiv district, Zhytomyr oblast'.



Obv. Unclear traces of the inscription on five lines.

No visible border.



Rev. Traces of the inscription on four lines:

. ΠΕΡΤΙ
. ON ...
... ΝΙΚΗ
... ON

The legend starts probably with ὑπέρτιμον and ends with Νικηφόρον.

No visible border.



e) *fifth boulloterion*

5. VP-765.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**

D. 28×31.5 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 15 g. Blank too small for
die, hit. The channel of the
seal runs from 2 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

Korostyshiv district,
Zhytomyr oblast'.



Page 326

Obv. Unclear traces of the inscription
on four lines originally.
No visible border.

Rev. Unclear traces of the inscription
as above.
The legends of these types probably
bear some resemblance with the sec-
ond boulloterion, but they are certain-
ly not parallels.
No visible border.

Date:
1183 (at
the latest) –
ca. 1201.

Commentary:

The seals of Nicephorus II were made at least by five boulloteria and had at least two types of inscriptions. One of them preserves an invocation of the Holy Trinity which is unique in metrical seals legends. In addition, *τρίφωτος* is a quite rare word, which only appears in the form of *Τριάς* *τρίφωτος* in a homily of Isidoros (Glabas) of Thessaloniki († 1396).³³⁸

We would normally assume that Nikephoros was a close relative (most probably a nephew) of the bishop of Promyron resp. Promyra. To the best of our knowledge, however, such a bishopric is unattested both in the *notitiae episcopatum* of Père Darrouzès and in the *indizes* of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. We do know of the bishopric of Proine under Myra, or Promissos in Phrygia,³³⁹ but we see no connection to Promyra.

This discrepancy was resolved by A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt. Instead of trying to identify a bishopric Promyra, she proposed the reading *πρὸ Μύρων*. This lead her to the identification of the owner's relative with the famous Eustathios of Thessaloniki. The latter was elected metropolitan of Myra in 1174, but could not go to his diocese because it was occupied by the Seljuks. After Manuel I's request, Eustathios was transferred to Thessaloniki in 1175 (or 1178, as others think)³⁴⁰. We assume that Nikephoros was elected metropolitan of the Rus' after the appointment of Eustathios as metropolitan of Myra, but before his transfer to Thessaloniki. After the latter's second appointment, Nikephoros could have changed his seal to *ὁ τοῦ Θεσσάλων* or *ὁ τοῦ Θεττάλων* (if he wanted to remain within a

³³⁸ TSIRPANLIS, *Συμβολή* 581, l. 38: *χάριτος τῆς τριφώτου καὶ παντοδυνάμου Τριάδος*. We thank A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt for this reference.

³³⁹ Cf. DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae* 472.

³⁴⁰ METZLER, *Eustathios* 8–11.

dodecasyllable), or ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης. Save for the possibility that Nikephoros was only relatively late informed of the upgrading of his uncle, perhaps he continued to use the same surname,³⁴¹ regardless of Eustathios' promotion.

The common name of the metropolis of Lykia is Myra, but this town's river is called Myros;³⁴² Myros, therefore, is a sophisticated metaphor for Myra.

Only late chronicles mention Nikephoros' appointment to the Rus'. According to the Hustynian chronicle, Nikephoros was appointed to his post by patriarch Basileios II Kamateros (1183–1186) in 1182.³⁴³ In other Rus'ian sources Nikephoros is first attested in 1183, when he consecrated bishop Basileios as abbot of the Cave Monastery in Kyiv.³⁴⁴ In 1185 Nikephoros became involved in an ecclesiastical controversy with Vsevolod Yuriovych, kniaz' of Suzdal', who had refused to accept Nikolaos the Greek as the new bishop of Rostov. Vsevolod and the people of Rostov-Suzdal' favoured instead the appointment of Lukas, hegumen of St. Saviour Church at Berestovo, which was finally realised.³⁴⁵ In 1187 Nikephoros supported the wish of Mstyslav, kniaz' of Novgorod, and Novgorodian clerics to consecrate Gabriel as archbishop of Novgorod.³⁴⁶ Among Nikephoros' other recorded deeds are the consecration of the church of St. Basileios in Kyiv and of the Apostles in Bilhorod in 1198.³⁴⁷ In 1194 he met Riuryk Rostyslavych, the new kniaz' of Kyiv with clerics and "all the town people of Kyiv".³⁴⁸ Two years later he took part in the funeral ceremony of Hlib Yuriovych, kniaz' of Turov.³⁴⁹ When the Hungarians took over the city of Halych in 1188, Nikephoros tried to mediate between Sviatoslav Vsevolodovych and Riuryk Rostyslavych and encouraged them to "liberate the native land from the aliens".³⁵⁰ In 1190 Nikephoros consecrated Ioannes as bishop of Rostov-Suzdal', replacing Lukas according to the wish of Vsevolod Yuriovych, kniaz' of Suzdal'.³⁵¹ Another of his contributions to peacemaking is dated to 1195 when the metropolitan reconciled Riuryk Rostyslavych of Kyiv with his nephew Roman Mstyslavych and Vsevolod Yuriovych of Suzdal' with regard to a disputable piece of land in the Rus'.³⁵² Nikephoros was probably the Rus'ian metropolitan who incited the princes to attack the Polovtsians who had made an incursion of Byzantine territory (1201/1202). We do not know when Nikephoros passed away, but his (direct?) successor Matthaïos became metropolitan before 1210.³⁵³

³⁴¹ It is absolutely clear that this surname is not a „family name“, as it was not transmitted to relatives.

³⁴² HELLENKEMPER - HILD, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 342–359.

³⁴³ The Hustynja Chronicle 251. But the surname ὁ τοῦ πρὸ Μύρων could point to an earlier date.

³⁴⁴ PSRL II 627–628.

³⁴⁵ PSRL I 390–391; II 629–630.

³⁴⁶ NPL 228–229.

³⁴⁷ PSRL II 634, 706–707.

³⁴⁸ PSRL II 681.

³⁴⁹ PSRL II 694.

³⁵⁰ PSRL II 663.

³⁵¹ PSRL I 408.

³⁵² PSRL II 684, 687–688, 694.

³⁵³ Cf. POPPE, *Metropolitan* 294–295.

10. Michael III, ποιμενάρχης of Rosia

1. VP-232.



2. VP-1658.



e) fifth boulloterion

5. VP-765.



11. Nikephoros II, ποιμενάρχης of all Rosia

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-12.



b) second boulloterion

2. VP-1151.



12. Ioseph, metropolitan of Rosia

VP-1620.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 36×20 mm. H. 2.5 mm.

W. 12.4 g. Half of seal.

The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Stepok village, Andrushkiv district, Zhytomyr oblast'.



Obv. Right half of the figure of the Theotokos with the child sitting on a throne with rectangular back. Of the sigla only ΘV is preserved. This figure is quite near to the obverse of the patriarchal seals of Methodios II (1241), Germanus III (1265–66), and Gregorios II (1283–1289).

Border of dots.

Rev. Left half of an inscription in six lines, which can be reconstructed with the help of a parallel seal in a private collection.

Date:
1236/37–40.

+
ΤΟΝΠ.....
ΑΡΧΗΝ.....
ΤΗΣΡΩ.....
ΠΙΣΚΟΙΠ.....
.ΚΟΡ.....
Ξ...

+ Τὸν ποιμεν]άρχην [Ἰωσήφ]
τῆς Ῥω[σίας, ἐ]πισκ(ο)π[ῆς σῆς,
ὁ] κόρ[η, κατα]ξ[ίου]
+ *Virgin, honor Joseph, the Poimenarches
of Rosia, Thy patronage.*

Border of dots.



Commentary:

Probably there was a cross above the first line, and ornaments in the form of a cross (·:·) on either side of the last line. In the first line Nu and Pi are ligated, then follows perhaps a thin Omikron and a Iota. Ἐπισκοπῆς σῆς puts the metropolis of Rus' under the special patronage of the Theotokos. Instead of ὦ also σύ would be possible. Καταξιώ (honor) is very rare in metrical legends.

The seal belongs surely to the metropolitan Joseph, a Greek sent from Nikaia (where the patriarchs resided in this time). He arrived in Kyiv around 1236/37; it is not known if he survived the terrible conquest of Kyiv by the Mongol commander Batu (6. 12. 1240) by some time, perhaps returning to Byzantine territory. His successor became probably Kyrillos, perhaps the former chancellor of knjaz' Danylo Romanovych, who was nominated by the knjaz' ca. 1242/1243, but was consecrated in Nikaia only in 1247.

13. Kyrillos II, archbishop of the metropolis of Rosia

1. VP-1243.



Publ.:

ΑΛΨ'ΟΡΟΝ, Κατάλογ 17.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

Dimensions:

D. 43×40 mm. D₂. 34 mm. H. 4 mm.

W. 34.6 g. Break of the channel (Rev.).



Page 333

2. VP-1553.



Publ.

(1stpart): ALEKSEENKO, Печать митрополита; BULGAKOVA, *Osteuropa* 3.2.3.10; YANIN – GAIDUKOV 1998, 53-4. Unpublished (2ndpart).

Find-spot:

a) In the sea near the city of Cherson (present-day Sevastopol'), Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine;
b) under Staryi Krym city, Kirov (Islamterets'kyi) district, Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine.

Dimensions:

D. 36 mm. H. 2.5 mm.

W. 19.5 g. Two parts.



Page 333

3. VP-95.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:

Horodyshe village, Kulykivka district, Chernihiv oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 36.5×35 mm. H. 3.5 mm. W. 24.2 g.

Two parts, reconstructed. Bent, hit.



Page 334

4. VP-1554.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:

Kalynivka village, Korets' district, Rivne oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 31 mm. H. 3 mm. W. 16.3 g. Half of seal. Hit.



Page 334

5. VP-1555.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:

Hushscyntsi village, Kalynivka district, Vinnytsia oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 38.5×21 mm. H. 2 mm. W. 16.6 g. Half of seal.



Page 334

6. VP-1556.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

Dimensions:

D. 35.5×32 mm. H. 3 mm. W. 16.5 g.

Half of seal. Two holes in the top part.



Page 335

7. VP-1558.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 40×22 mm. H. 3.5 mm. W. 15.1 g. Half of seal.

Hit. The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.



Page 335

8. VP-1557.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

Dimensions:

D. 22.5×22 mm. H. 2.5 mm. W. 7.9 g.

Quarter of seal. Hole at the upper part.



Page 335

Analogy:

- a-c) Hermitage;
d) PLATAR-Museum.

Publ.:

- a-b) ЛІКНАСНОВ, *Матеріали*,
р. 6–8; ЯНІН, *Актовые
печати* I 53-1 and 2;
c) СОТНИКОВА, *Новые
сфрагистические* 3;
ЯНІН – ГАЙДУКОВ,
Актовые печати III 53-3;
d) МОТОРЖЫНА –
ЛІПЫНС'КА, *Pechati* 45.

Obv. Theotokos standing, with a medallion in front of her (Episkepsis type).
Inscription: $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}} \mid \Theta\text{V} - \text{H}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{A}}:$
 $\text{M}(\eta\tau\eta)\rho \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\tilde{\upsilon} \eta \text{ } \overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\rho}\overline{\alpha}$: *The Mother of God, the "Holy".*

The epitheton Hiera for the Theotokos is not found on other seals. We know a monastery τῆς Ἱερᾶς on Mt. Latros, mentioned in the year 1222.³⁵⁴ Perhaps Kyrillos had been a monk in this (or a synonymous) monastery before he became metropolitan.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

~
+ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΣ
ΜΟΝΑΧΟСЕΛΕΩ
ΘΥΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ
ΤΗΣΜΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΕ
ΩΣΡΩΣΙΑС
~

+ Κύριλλος μοναχὸς ἐλέω Θεοῦ
ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς μ(η)τροπόλεως
Ρωσίας.

+ Kyrillos the monk, by the grace of God
archbishop of the metropolis of Rosia.

Border of dots.

Date:

Probably
ca. 1247–1281.

Commentary:

In earlier editions these seals were attributed to Kyrillos/Kyrylo I,³⁵⁵ who was metropolitan of Kyiv from 1224–1233. The paleography of some letters, however, is found on seals which date slightly later. For instance, C and E have prolonged ends³⁵⁶ and the letters are tall and closely pressed, characteristics which are untypical for seals dating to the first third of the XIIIth century.

On the other hand, there is another Kyrillos in the XIIIth century whose active years are in better agreement with the characteristics of the seal. This Kyrillos, probably of Rus'ian origin, was already nominated by kniaz' Danylo Romanovych in 1242/1243.³⁵⁷ In 1247, however, or slightly later, he was consecrated in Nikaia. His successful politics found him in good terms both with the kniaz's, including Aleksandr Nevskiy, and the Mongols of the Golden Horde who granted him privileges for the church. Kyrillos features as an archbishop in other documents as well.³⁵⁸ He paid frequent visits to the dioceses of Rus', esp. Vladymyr. Kyrillos died in 1281, probably in Pereiaslav, and was buried in Kyiv.³⁵⁹

³⁵³ Cf. JANIN, *Centres* 227; GASTGEBER – KRESTEN, *Chartular* II 39, p. 76.

³⁵⁵ Some scholars call him Kyrillos II, since they accept that another dubious figure existed, shortly before the middle of the XIth century, which is only mentioned in an unreliable note from the XVIth century; cf. POPPE, *Metropolitan* 296, n. 6.

³⁵⁶ Cf. OIKONOMIDES, *Dated Seals* 136 (1256–1282), 137 (1260–1261), 139 (1263).

³⁵⁷ Perhaps he had been Danylo's chancellor (pechatnyk) before.

³⁵⁸ In some respect Kyrillos' seals resemble the style of the patriarchal ones; they also start with the name followed by ἐλέω Θεοῦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος. There were archbishops of different level in the orthodox world, the highest ones claimed their foundation by the apostles resp. were (semi)-independent from the patriarch(s). Constantinople claimed its foundation by apostle Andrea who was on his way to the Scythians – and the Scythians lived in the regions of later Rus'. The oecumenical patriarch could not reside in Constantinople during these decennia, as it was occupied by the Latins. On the other hand Kyrillos was the metropolitan of a vast territory, even in the Mongol capital Sarai resided one of his suffragan bishops. Kyrillos was also aware of the importance of archbishops in Central and Western Europe.

³⁵⁹ Cf. PREISER-KAPPELLER 498; BLAZEJOWSKYJ, *Kyivan Church* 84–85; POPPE, *Metropolitan* 299–301; cf. also 297–298 with n. 8.

Kyrillos II, archbishop of the metropolis of Rosia

1. VP-1243.



2. VP-1553.



Kyrillos II, archbishop of the metropolis of Rosia

3. VP-95.



4. VP-1554.



5. VP-1555.



6. VP-1556.



7. VP-1558.



8. VP-1557.



14. Nikephoros, metropolitan of all Rusia

AKh-572.

Publ.:

АЛЕКСЕЕНКО, Памятники археологии 2.

Dimensions:

D. 31×38 mm. D₂. 23 mm.

H. 4 mm. W. 30.9 g.

The lower part of the seal is lost. Cut with a sharp object, bent, corroded.

Find-spot:

Sevastopol' city (The old port area of Cherson in the present-day Karantinaia Bay, in the sea; the seal was found in the sea.), Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine.



Obv. Indistinct bust of a saint bishop with a long beard. His right hand is probably blessing and his left is holding the Gospels. The name given in the badly damaged circular inscription, is probably St. Polyeuktos, the patriarch of Constantinople, who is only rarely depicted, not on a single other seal. The inscription reads: ΘΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟ
. ΣΤΑΝΤΗΝΩΠΩΛΕΟΣ
Ὁ ἅγιος Πολύευκτος π(α)τριάρχης Κων[σταντι]ν(ο)π(ό)λε(ω)ς.

Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ
ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΩΗΡΟ
ΠΟΛΙΤΩΠΑΣ
ΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ

+ Σφραγίς Νικηφόρου
μ(η)τροπολίτου πάσ(ης) Ῥουσίας.
+ Seal of Nikephoros, metropolitan of all
Rusia.

Border of dots.

Date:

Perhaps
c. 1282.



Commentary:

The style of the seal points primarily to the second half of the XIIIth c. (the Mu is of the “Palaiologan” type). Although the Rus’ian and Greek sources do not mention a thirteenth-century metropolitan called Nikephoros, there are some hints we can follow.

Perhaps the extremely unusual choice of the patriarch Polyeuktos (956–970) as patron can be a first hint. Polyeuktos was a very strong character, who resisted the uncanonical demands of the emperors Nikephoros II Phokas and Ioannes I Tzimiskes.³⁶⁰ In the Palaeologan era, the vast majority of the Byzantine clergy was opposed to the unionistic policy of emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (after the council of Lyon 1274, at least until 1282). Probably some of them endorsed a patriarch who could stand up to the emperor, just like Polyeuktos.

The metropolitan Kyrillos died 27.11.1281, and Maximos, the next documented patriarch, was consecrated in 1283. In 1284 he celebrated the canonization of princess Olha, the first baptized Rus’ian ruler, and of Volodymyr, who had begun the Christianization of the Rus’ in the Xth century. It could well be that Nikephoros was consecrated as new metropolitan of the Rus’ very shortly after the message of Kyrillos’ death had reached Constantinople, and that he passed away soon afterwards, before he was even enthroned in Kyiv.³⁶¹ Perhaps it was he who had planned the canonization of Olha and Volodymyr which was realised by Maximos. Olha had been baptized by Patriarch Polyeuktos.

³⁶⁰ Cf. PHEIDAS, Πολύευκτος 523–525; TODT, Polyeuktos, 74; VOLK, Polyeuktos, 399.

³⁶¹ The seal was not found on Rus’ territory but in Crimea.

15. Maximos, metropolitan of all Rosia and hypertimos

VP-561.

Publ.:

EIDEL, Seal 1.

Dimensions:

D. 36.5×35 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 24.2 g. The channel of
the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.
Two holes in the upper part.

Find-spot:

ten kilometers south of
Luts'k city, Volyn' oblast'.



Obv. Mother of God of the Sign with a bust of Christ Emmanuel (in a medallion) on her chest (Episkesis-type). Sigla: $\text{HP} - \Theta\text{V}$ and inscription (in massive letters) in two columns: $\text{HA}|\text{PI}|A - \text{CO}|\text{FI}|A$: $\text{M}(\eta\tau)\eta\rho \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\text{v} \eta \text{A}\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha \Sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha$: *Mother of God, the Holy Wisdom*. The Mu in the form of the «Palaeologan style» (Hl).

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

Date:

1283–1307.

+
ΜΑΖΙΜΟ
ΣΕΛΕΨΘΝΜΡ
ΟΠΟΛΙΤΣΑΠ
ΑΣΗΡΨΣΙΑΣ
ΚΑΙΝΠΕΡΤ
ΙΜΟΣ·

+ Μάξιμος ἐλέφ $\Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\text{v}$
 $\mu(\eta\tau)\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\eta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\varsigma \text{Ρ}\omega\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota$
 $\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\tau\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$.

+ *Maximos, by the grace of God metro-*
politan of all Rosia and hypertimos.

Border of dots.



Commentary:

Above the legend there are four dots in the form of a cross, at the end there are only three. The reverse legend preserves only one ligature (H).

Some scholars have interpreted the epitheton of the Theotokos (ἡ Ἁγία Σοφία) as indicating that the owner of the seal had been a member of the patriarchal clergy before he became bishop or metropolitan. The high-ranking ecclesiastical title of Hypertimos was probably attributed to more than one metropolitans of the Rus' in this time.³⁶²

Maximos / Maksym, "the Greek", was appointed metropolitan by patriarch Gregorios II Kyprios in 1283 (November 3 or 4).³⁶³ On his way to Kyiv, he visited the khan of the Golden Horde in Sarai. In 1289 he consecrated abbot Andreas in Kyiv as the bishop of Tver.³⁶⁴ In 1295 he came from Kyiv to Vladymyr to depose its bishop, Yakob.³⁶⁵

According to one tradition, Maximos "took the see of Vladymyr" in 1299, while Simon, the local bishop, was sent to the bishopric in Rostov.³⁶⁶ According to another, in 1300 Maximos, "not willing to suffer Tatarian violence any more left his see in Kyiv and ran with all his entourage first to Brians'k and then to Suzdal".³⁶⁷ The transfer of the metropolitan see from Kyiv to Vladymyr was not officially approved by the patriarchate until 1354.³⁶⁸ In 1304 Maximos was present in the meeting of kniaz's in Pereiaslav during the reading of kniaz' Andrei Aleksandrovych's yarlyk from the Tatars.³⁶⁹ He probably died in 1307 and was buried in Vladymyr.³⁷⁰

³⁶² Cf. KUPRANIS, Датированные печати иерархов.

³⁶³ *Troiskaja letopis* 340; *Hustynia Chronicle* 314.

³⁶⁴ This Andrew was a son of the Lithuanian prince Gerdenis - *Troitsakija letopis* 344–345.

³⁶⁵ *PSRL* I 527.

³⁶⁶ *PSRL* I 528; *Troitsakija letopis* 348.

³⁶⁷ *PSRL* I 485; *Troitsakija letopis* 349; OSTROWSKI, Metropolitan 83–101; 2) 'The Move of the Metropolitan from Kiev in 1299'.

³⁶⁸ PREISER-KAPPELLER 498–499; BLAZEJOWSKYJ, *Kyivan Church* 85.

³⁶⁹ *Troitsakija letopis* 351.

³⁷⁰ *Troitsakija letopis* 352; *Hustynia Chronicle* 314; for other sources see BLAZEJOWSKYJ, *Kyivan Church* 85.

B. Metropolitan of New Rusia (Chernihiv)

1. Neophytos, metropolitan of New Rusia

VP- 421.

Publ.:

ALF'OROV, Heoφit.

Dimensions:

D. 22×23 mm.

D₂. 18.5 mm. H. 3 mm.

W. 8.5 g. Corroded.

Find-spot:

Syberezh village, Ripky district, Chernihiv oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) Sheremetiev collection, VP-1682;
- b) Research Sector of Archeology of National Preserve "Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra" (found in the Lavra, 2021; archaeological research of S. Taranenko)

Unpublished.

Obv. Bust St. Neophytos. Inscription: Θ|N|Ε|Ο – Φ|Ι|Τ|Ο,; Ὁ ἅγιος Νεόφ(υ)το(ς): *Saint Neophytos.*

That is the first representation of St. Neophytos in Byzantine sigillography. The saint was martyred in Nikaia during the reign of Diocletianus.³⁷¹ He is depicted as a young man, beardless, with a curled hair-dress, in a kind of Deesis (the raised left hand is clearly visible).

Border of dots.**Rev.** Inscription of five lines:

⋮
 ΝΕΟΦΝ
 ΤΟCΑΚΕ
 ΜΡΟΠΟΛ,
 ΤΗ,ΝΕΑC
 ΡΥCΙΑC

+ Νεόφυτος (μον)(α)χ(ὸ)ς κ(αὶ)
 μ(η)τροπολ(ί)της τῆ(ς) Νέας Ρουσίας.
 + *Neophytos, monk and metropolitan of New Rusia.*

Border of dots.**Date:**

ca.1069 –
 before
 1087/1088.

Commentary:

An alternative reading for the legend is μ(η)τροπολ(ί)τη(ς) Νέας Ρουσίας.

The diocese of Chernihiv was perhaps established shortly after 989, as a suffragan of Kyiv.³⁷² There is no mention of a metropolitan Neophytos / Neofit / Neophytes in Laurentian, Hypatian and Novgorod chronicles. His name is only preserved in the "Tale of Borys and Hlib", dated before 1076, featuring among the bishops who attended the transfer of their holy relics to the church in Vyshhorod in 1072/1073: "The relics of the holy martyrs Roman and Davyd were transferred. Iziaslav and Vsevolod gathered together and (also) metropolitan Georgios of Kyiv, and bishop Neophytes of Chernihiv the second one, bishop Peter of Pereiaslavl, Niketas of Beloozero, Michael of Iuriev, hegumen Theodosios of the Kyivan Cave Monastery, Sophronios."³⁷³ Later chronicles dated to XVth century, that of Sofievskia I and Voskresenska, reproduce the same story almost verbatim.³⁷⁴ Neophytes is also recorded in the Liubech Synodikon as the first bishop of Chernihiv,³⁷⁵ where he was succeeded by John, the earliest bishop of this city recorded in old chronicles. John died in 1112 after twenty-five years of sickness.³⁷⁶ That means that he was appointed as a

³⁷⁰ Cf. BHG II 131–132.

³⁷² POPPE, Status 41.

³⁷³ SREZNEVSKII, Сказания 75; POPPE, Русские митрополии 98.

³⁷⁴ PSRL 39; PSRL 7; NAZARENKO, Митрополии Ярославичей 207–245.

³⁷⁵ ЗОТОВ, О черниговских князьях 10, no. 10. Cf. Also BLAZEJOWSKY, Kyivan Church 95–97.

³⁷⁶ PSRL I 290; II 273–274.



bishop c. 1087. He is first mentioned in the chronicles when in 1088 he took part in the consecration of St. Michael's Church in Kyiv.³⁷⁷ We hear of him again in 1091 in connection with the transfer of the relics of Theodosios, hegumen of the Cave Monastery.³⁷⁸ It has been suggested that the establishment of the metropolis of Chernihiv took place c. 1069 and in Pereiaslav c. 1073.³⁷⁹ In *not.* 11 of the *notitiae episcopatum* (from the end of the XIth c.) the metropolitan of Chernihiv is registered under no. 72 as ὁ Μαυροκάστρου ἥτοι νέας Ῥωσίας, i.e. Chernihiv (literally "Black fortress") or "New Rhosia", "New Rus".³⁸⁰ The term "New Rhosia" was introduced by the compiler of the *Notitiae* in respect of the above mentioned "Rhosia" which he recorded under no. 60. The simultaneous existence of metropoleis, one in Chernihiv and one in Pereiaslav is also documented in the correspondence of the metropolitan Ioannes II in which he mentions "other metropolitans" (in plural).³⁸¹

The seal has been found in Syberezh village, Ripky district, Chernihiv oblast'. There are two settlements in this area. One of them dated to ninth–fourteenth centuries is situated on the bank of the brook (Syberezh) and another one (Syberezh Verkhestrizhen's'ke II) dated to twelfth–thirteenth centuries is located on the slope of roundish depression. In addition, around 100 mounds are known from the same place.³⁸² The area belonged to the land of Chernihiv's kniaz's. Previously recorded finds of imported Byzantine ceramic and glass bracelets³⁸³ correspond perfectly well with this unique seal. The seal supports the early dating of "Skazanie" as it has been suggested long time ago.

³⁷⁷ PSRL I 207. Cf. PREISER-KAPPELLER 506; BLAZEJOWSKYJ, *Kyivan Church* 96.

³⁷⁸ PSRL I 211; II 202. HONIGMANN, *Studies* 142–144; POPPE, *Status* 20–21, 23, 26; POPPE, *Русские митрополии* 98–102, 104; NAZARENKO, *Митрополии Ярославичей* 89, 91–95, 101.

³⁷⁹ ZUCKERMAN, *Дуумвираты Ярославичей* 40–50, esp. 45. Cf. PRISELKOV, *Очерки* 119.

³⁸⁰ DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae* 11, (72), p. 344; cf. p. 120.

³⁸¹ POPPE, *Русские митрополии* 104.

³⁸² SHEKUN – VEREMEICHUK, *Селища* 93–110, no. 188, 187, 189.

³⁸³ VEREMEICHUK, *Предметы* 400; VEREMEICHUK – KOVAL, *Византийские амфоры* 47–56, plate 1, no. 26–27, fig. 2; KOVALENKO, *Byzantine Ceramic* 243–255, fig. 3, no. 26–27.

C. Metropolitan of Rosia (Pereiaslav?)

1. Ephraim, metropolitan of Rosia

VP- 537.

*Unpublished.**Dimensions:*

D. 30×31 mm. D₂: 23 mm.
H. 4 mm. W. 21.1 g. Cut
with a sharp object.

Find-spot:

Borzna city, Borzna
district, Chernihiv oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) Former Likhachev's
collection, modern storage
location unknown;
b-c) Private collection (found
in Poltava o. and Sumy o.).

Publ.:

- a) ЛІХАЧЕВ, *Материалы* II
11-12; ЯНИН, *Из истории*
125-126, 9; СОЛОВЬЕВ,
Metropolitensiegel 294-
295, pl. IV/4; LAURENT,
Corpus VI/1, 783;
b-c) ЗНУКОВ, *О новых*
находках, 9-10.



Obv. St. Michael standing frontally, a tall figure with dominant wings, vested in the imperial loros, holding a long scepter (r. hand) and a globus cruciger (l. hand). On either side: $\dot{M} - \dot{A}$: $M(\iota)\chi(\alpha)\eta\lambda) \dot{\alpha}(\rho)\chi(\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma)$: Archangel Michael.

Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

+KĒRΘ
ΕΦΡΑΙΜ
ἈΠΡΩΤΟ
ΠΡΟΕΔΡΩ
Κ. ΙΜΗΤΡΟ
ΠΟΛΙΤΗ
· Ψ · · ΑÇ

Date:

ca. last
quarter
XIth c.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Ἐφραῖμ
(μον)(α)χ(ῶ) πρωτοπροέδρῳ κ[α]ὶ
μητροπολίτῃ [Ρ]ω[σί]ας.
+ Lord help Ephraim, monk, proto-
proedros and metropolitan of Rosia.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

Laurent interpreted the figure on the obverse as a “saint militaire” since the siglum $\dot{A}$ was not visible on the parallel seal. The paleography of the seal fits well to the second half of the XIth century. There was a metropolitan in Kyiv called Ephraim from c. 1052³⁸⁴ to c. 1068.³⁸⁵ He is also documented in a trial against Luka which was held in 1055.³⁸⁶

As former editors have noted, the title protoproedros is problematic. In the context of the middle of the XIth century, it is impossible to identify a πρωτοπρόεδρος (τῶν πρωτοσυγκέλλων), though it was customary for the bishops to call themselves “proedros” of their city (especially on their metrical seals). The civil title proedros, known since the later Xth century, was still very high in the middle of the XIth century, but the civil title protoproedros is only attested since the 60s of the XIth century onwards. The protoproedros on our seal denotes an official ecclesiastical title granted by the patriarch, not an unofficial tag symbolizing the prominence of this metropolitan. The first clerical protoproedros was probably loannes, metropolitan of Side, in 1072.³⁸⁷ It does not help to rely on

³⁸⁴ If a graffito in St. Sophia cathedral really mentions him, as A. Gippius thinks.

³⁸⁵ The church of St. Sophia in Kyiv was blessed by him November 4, 1061 or 1067.

³⁸⁶ Cf. ПОПЕ, *Metropoliten* 285–286, no. 5 (by mistake identified with the protoproedros); БЛАЗЕЈОВСЬКЬ, *Kyivan Church* 77.

³⁸⁷ *Sykl. Cont.* 155, 10; cf. LAURENT, l.c.



the seals of Eustathios protoproedros, the *posadnik* Zavid of Novgorod (ca. 1088–1094),³⁸⁸ as Soloviev had proposed.³⁸⁹

The metropolitan of Rosia was customarily that of Kyiv, but following the political developments of the last third of the XIth century, the bishop of Chernihiv became metropolitan in c. 1069, and the bishop of Pereiaslav in c. 1073.³⁹⁰ The latter was called metropolitan of Ρούσιον ἢ Πρεσθλάβα or Πρεσκλάβα ἤτοι Ρωσία or something similar.³⁹¹ Chronicles do mention a metropolitan in Pereiaslav called Ephraim who built in 1089 and 1090 the church of St. Michael (and other churches, for Theodore and Andreas), though some scholars have raised caution about this piece of information.³⁹² They suggest that Ephraim was the future metropolitan in Kyiv,³⁹³ but perhaps he only assumed duties in Kyiv when the real metropolitan of the city was absent.³⁹⁴ At an unknown date Ephraim returned to Constantinople and apparently remained there. Most probably, he is the person who participated in the patriarchal synode of 1101 (November 15), mentioned as metropolitan Ρωσίας.³⁹⁵

Recently Mikhail Butyrsky published two seals with the inscription “Εφραίμ συγκέλλω καὶ ἐπισκόπῳ (τῆς ἐν) Ῥωσίᾳ Περστιάβας”. The author believes that they belonged to Metropolitan Ephraim of Pereyaslav.³⁹⁶

³⁸⁸ YANIN, *Актовые печати* I, p. 64–68; 182, no. 72; see our no. II.II.1.1.

³⁸⁹ SOLOVIEV, *Metropolitensiegel* 294f.

³⁹⁰ Cf. ZUCKERMAN, *Дуумвираты Ярославичей*, esp. 45.

³⁹¹ Cf. DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae* 344, 80–81 and *apparatus criticus*.

³⁹² Cf. ZUCKERMAN, *Дуумвираты Ярославичей* 47–49.

³⁹³ BLAZEJOWSKYJ, *Kyivan Church* 78–79.

³⁹⁴ POPPE, *Metropolitanen*, lists Nikolaos/Mykola as metropolitan of Kyiv between 1092 and 1104, and omits the name of Ephraim. Nikolaos is mentioned for the years 1097 and 1101 (p. 287, no. 9). For Mykola cf. also BLAZEJOWSKYJ, *Kyivan Church* 79.

³⁹⁵ PG 119, 861; RHALLÉS — POTLES V 60. Cf. ZUCKERMAN, *Дуумвираты Ярославичей* 48–49; GRUMEL, *Regestes* III 970. The new date is confirmed by Schminck 561–562. In this synode there was also an ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ρωσίου present.

³⁹⁶ BUTYRSKYJ, *Печать Ефрема*, 140–146. Perhaps we should read: ἐπισκ(ό)π(ω) Ρ(ου)σικ(έ)ς Περστιάβας.

2. Bishops

A. Bilhorod

1. Loukas, monk and bishop (of Bilhorod?)

1. VP-741.



Publ.:
WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr.*
Corpus II 2561.

Find-spot:
Ukraine.

Dimensions:
D. 24 mm. H. 5 mm. W. 18.4 g. Hit.

2. VP-40.



Publ.:
WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr.*
Corpus II 2561.

Find-spot:
Zhytomyr oblast'.

Dimensions:
D. 26×13 mm. H. 3.5 mm. W. 7 g. Half of seal, holed.
The channel of the seal runs from 2 to 8 h.

3. VP-1586.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:
Berezhne village (on
the banks of the river
Ezuch), Konotop
district, Sumy oblast'.

Dimensions:
D. 28×15 mm. H. 4 mm.
W. 8 g. Half of seal, hit.

4. VP-1587.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:
Ukraine.

Dimensions:
D. 25 mm. H. 4 mm. W. 14.6 g. Hole in the centre.



Analogies:

- a) Fogg 933;
- b) Private collection, RF
(found in Ukraine);
- c) Private collection
(found in Ukraine);
- d) Private collection,
Sevastopol', Ukraine
(found in Ukraine).

Publ.:

- a) LAURENT, *Corpus* V/1,
990 (with mistakes);
- a-b) WASSILIOU-SEIBT,
Metr. Corpus II 2561;
- c) unpublished;
- d) ЗНУКОВ, О новых
находках, 17.

Obv. Busts of the apostles Petros and Paulos. Inscription above St. Petros: Θ|Π, . . . , and above St. Paulos: ΘΠΑΝ|Λ|Ο, : Ὁ ἄγιος Π(έ)[τρος], ὁ ἄγιος Παῦλος(ς): St. Petros, St. Paulos. Circular inscription between two borders of dots:

+ΟΙΔΝΟΜΝCΤΑΙΤΩΝΧΥ
ΠΑΘΗΜΑΤΩΝ:

Οἱ δύο μύσται τῶν Χ(ριστο)ῦ

παθημάτων:

The two (apostles) having full knowledge of the Passion of Christ or to whom the spiritual truth of Christ's passion has been revealed.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

—.—
+CΦΡΑΓ,
ΛΟΝΚΑᾶ
ΚΑΙΕΠΙ
CΚΟΠῆ
—.—

+ Σφραγ(ις) Λουκᾶ (μον)(α)χ(οῦ) καὶ ἐπισκόπου.

+ Seal of Loukas, monk and bishop.

Border of dots.

Date:

Xth c.,

last quarter.

Commentary:

At least four seals found in Ukraine allow us to connect this type of seals with the name of Loukas, bishop of Bilhorod. The representation of St. Petros and Paulos on the obverse might be explained by the Church of the Apostles which was the cathedral church of the town. The first church, a wooden one, was replaced by a stone church consecrated in 1197.³⁹⁷ Alternatively, Loukas might have been a monk in a monastery of the Apostles before he became bishop.

The first mention of Loukas, bishop of Bilhorod, is dated in 1088 in connection with the consecration of St. Michael church in Vsevolod's monastery.³⁹⁸ Next year he took part in the consecration of the Holy Virgin church in the Theodosian monastery.³⁹⁹ On both occasions, he is recorded in the list of attending clerics immediately after the metropolitan, which indicates his prominent place in church hierarchy. The day of his death is recorded only in a wall inscription in the cathedral of St Sofia, but the year is not mentioned (August 22). The next recorded bishop of Bilhorod was Niketas, appointed in 1113, which implies that Loukas died in the period between 1089 and 1113, perhaps before 1091. In the latter year Loukas is not listed among clerics attending the transfer of the relics of Theodosios into the Holy Virgin church of the Cave Monastery,⁴⁰⁰ which indicates that he had probably passed away.

³⁹⁷ РАПРАПОРТ, *Архитектура* 29, no. 38.

³⁹⁸ PSRL I 207; II 199.

³⁹⁹ PSRL I 207–208; II 199; АБРАМОВУЧІ, *Патерик* 14, 103.

⁴⁰⁰ Vysotski, *Древнерусские надписи* 45–47, no. 10.

2. Bishops

A. Bilhorod

1. Loukas, monk and bishop (of Bilhorod?)

1. VP-741.



2. VP- 40.



3. VP-1586.



4. VP-1587.



2. Nikolaos, bishop of Bilhorod

VP-471.

Publ.:

АЛѢОРОВ, Молівдовули
невідомих 2.

Dimensions:

D. 19.5×19 mm.
H. 2 mm. W. 5.7 g. Blank
too small for die.

Find-spot:

Obukhiv city, Obukhiv
district, Kyiv oblast'.

Analogies:

- a-b) Private collection,
Ukraine (found in
v. Bilohorodka, Kyiv-
Sviatoshyn d., Kyiv o.);
- c) Private collection, Ukraine
(found in Makariv c.,
Makariv d., Kyiv o.).

Publ.:

- a-b) ЗНУКОВ, О новых
находках, 19, 21;
- c) unpublished.



Obv. Bust of St. Nikolaos. The lower part of the figure (with the right hand in benediction and the left one holding the Gospels) is pressed. Inscription: . NIKO – ΛAO: [Ο ἅγιος] Νικόλαο(ς): *Saint Nikolaos*.

Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of four lines:

. ΦΡΑΓΙΣ
. ΙΚΟΛΑΔΕ
ΠΙΣΚΟΠΩΡΕ
Λ . ΓΡΑΔΔ

[Σ]φραγίς Νικολάου ἐπισκόπου
Βελ[ο]γράδου.

Seal of Nikolaos bishop of Bilhorod.

No visible border.

Date:

ca. 1150/1180.



Commentary:

In terms of paleography, there is the open Beta form in coexistence with the transitional form of the ligature O-V. We do not know if there was an ornament under the legend, but probably there was a cross above it.

Bilhorod / Belgorod, a city near to Kyiv, became in the XIth century the second residence of the kniaz' of Kyiv and perhaps already in the reign of Volodymyr I a high ranking bishopric (*episcopus curialis* and vicar of the metropolitan).⁴⁰¹ Nikolaos is otherwise unattested in the sources, but his predecessors were Nykyta / Niketas (documented as bishop between 1113 and 1115) and Teodor / Theodoros (documented as bishop between 1147–1148). His successors were Maksym / Maximos (documented as bishop for 1187, who died in 1190) and Adrijan / Adrianos (documented as bishop for 1190 and 1197).⁴⁰²

Given that the seal was found in the region of Kyiv, it most probably belongs to this eparchy. We should bear in mind, however, that there were other cities with the same name, e.g. Serbian Belgrade. A seal of a bishop Demetrios probably originates from the latter city.⁴⁰³ The bishopric of Asprokastron / Akkerman, also called Bilhorod, was established later than our seal.

⁴⁰¹ Cf. BLAZEJOWSKI, *Kyivan Church* 44.

⁴⁰² Cf. BLAZEJOWSKI, *Kyivan Church* 93f.

⁴⁰³ SEIBT, Bishop of Belgrade 25–32.

B. Brians'k

1. *Maximos, (bishop) of Brians'k*

VP-1137.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**

D. 29.5×28.5 mm.
 D₂. 26 mm. H. 6 mm.
 W. 30.5 g.

Find-spot:

Tomashivka village, Fastiv
 district, Kyiv oblast'.



Obv. Sts. Petros and Paulos standing; St. Petros probably holds a key (l. hand); St. Paulos is blessing (r. hand). Inscriptions (in big letters): Θ|Π|Ε|Ρ|Ο|Ι|C –

Θ|Π|Α|Λ|C: Ὁ ἅγιος Πέ[τ]ρος – ὁ ἅγιος Πα[ύ]λ[ο]ς; *Saint Petros: Saint Paulos.* The sigla for Θ are quite big, the one for Paulos is at the top of the field.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ СФРАГИС
 НАЗННД
 ТДПРОЕД,
 ВРАИ,

+ Σφραγίς Μαξ(ί)μου τοῦ προέδ(ρου) Βραν(ίσκου).

+ *Seal of Maximos, bishop of Brians'k.*

Border of dots.

Date:

perhaps
 middle of
 the XIVth c.

Commentary:

The end of the third line is unclear: We read the last two letters as ΕΔ.,

The third letter of the last line resembles an Omikron, but is probably an Alpha. Maximos was the bishop of Chernihiv / Brians'k. The legend constitutes a dodecasyllable.

The important town of Chernihiv on the river Desna became a bishopric under Kyiv in the Xth century. A century later it developed to a center of an important Rus'ian principality. Between c. 1069 and 1085 the bishop of Chernihiv was elevated to the rank of metropolitan,⁴⁰⁴ but later the bishopric was once more reduced to its former status. In the late XIIth c. the bishopric lost parts of its territory, when Riazan' became an independent bishopric. In 1239, the Mongols conquered Chernihiv and ruined the city. Soon afterwards the prince and the bishop (the latter in 1246) moved to the city of Briansk, also on the river Desna (which had been founded in 1140). The bishop of Chernihiv could, therefore,

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. the seal of Nephytos, metropolitan of New Rus' (Chernihiv), no. II.III.1.B.1



be addressed as bishop of Brians'k. In 1358, Brians'k became part of Lithuania.⁴⁰⁵

There is an interesting note for the year 1335: Some bishops assembled in the city of Chernihiv (Τζερνίχοβον) to elect a new bishop of Brians'k (Πριανίσκον). One of the three candidates was Maximos, ἀρχιμανδρίτης Πετζερίου (abbot of the Pechers'ka Lavra), but the post was assumed by Hieromonachos Ioannes.⁴⁰⁶ This Ivan / Ioannes is again mentioned for the year 1345.⁴⁰⁷ The next documented bishop of Chernihiv / Brians'k was Natanail / Nathanael, who was consecrated by the metropolitan Alexios / Oleksii (1354–1377), though the exact date of his consecration is unknown.⁴⁰⁸ It could well be that Maximos who had been rejected for the position in 1335, became Ioannes' successor. If this Maximos is the owner of our seal, he must have been the bishop of Chernihiv / Brians'k around the 50s of the XIVth c.

The same man might have been the owner of another seal as well.⁴⁰⁹ On its obverse there is a bust of a male saint. Its legend is only partially readable but seems to begin with: Σφραγίς – Μαζ(ι)μου – πρ(ω)τοθρό-νου (καὶ) ἐπισ... - πεκ...(.). After the word *protothronou* there is probably a ligature of S (for καὶ) and Epsilon, the rest is very uncertain.

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. PREISER-KAPPELLER 506; BLAZEJOWSKYJ, *Kyivan Church* 44–45.

⁴⁰⁶ SCHREINER, *Kleinchroniken* I 607–608 (end of chronicle 85). Cf. also PLP 16786.

⁴⁰⁷ BLAZEJOWSKYJ, *Kyivan Church* 98; PREISER-KAPPELLER 506.

⁴⁰⁸ BLAZEJOWSKYJ, l.c. But also his successor, Gregorios, was consecrated by the same metropolitan.

⁴⁰⁹ VP-1670 (*Unpublished*); Dimensions: D. 32×33 mm. D2.29.5 mm. H. 3.5 mm. W. 19.2 g.; Find-spot: v. Kovchyn, Kulykiv district, Chernihiv oblast'.

C. Chernihiv

1. Antonios, (bishop) of Chernihiv

1. VP-291.



Publ.:
ANDROSHCHUK, Печати,
а; ANDROSHCHUK, Greek
in Rus' 8, a-b; ALF'OROV,
Географічні назви 3;
ALF'OROV, СИМВОЛ 1.

Dimensions:
D. 20.5×23 mm. D₂. 19 mm.
H. 4 mm. W. 11.2 g.
The channel of the seal
runs from 11 to 6 h.

Find-spot:
Yaropovychi village,
Andrushkiv district,
Zhytomyr oblast'.

2. VP-1081.



Publ.:
ANDROSHCHUK, Печати, б.

Dimensions:
D. 21.5 mm. D₂. 19 mm.
H. 3.5 mm. W. 10.3 g. Hit.
The channel of the seal
runs from 12 to 5 h.

Find-spot:
Putyvl' city, Putyvl' district,
Chernihiv oblast'.

3. VP-1573.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:
D. 14×22.5 mm. H. 2 mm.
W. 2.9 g. Half of the
seal. Corroded.

Find-spot:
Mena district,
Chernihiv oblast'.

Analogies:
Private collection
(found in Ihorivka v.,
Buryń d., Sumy o.).

Publ.:
ЗНУКОВ, Печати
иєрархов 196–197.

Obv. Christ seated on a backless
throne, holding the Gospels (l. hand)
and blessing (r. hand). Inscription: IC –
XC: Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς; *Jesus Christ*.
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ANTΩ
NIONCKE
ΠΕΙCMEΘ̄P
MOVTZEP
NIFRX

Date:
The seal
dates
earlier than
1159–1169.

+ Ἀντώνιον σκέπ(οι)ς με, Σ(ωτ)ήρ
μου, Τζερνιγόβου.
+ *My Saviour, protect me, Antonios of
Chernihiv.*
Border of dots.



Commentary:

Christ is called Σωτήρ (Saviour) - on other seals as well.⁴¹⁰ The paleography suggests that the seal was produced by a local craftsman. The corrupted σκέπεις με instead of σκέποις με goes back to iotacism. The inscription consists of two sets of seven syllables, but is more prosaic than metrical.⁴¹¹ The Greek name of the city of Chernihiv is found both on these seals and in the list of dioceses dated to the twelfth century.⁴¹²

The seal dates from the XIIth century.⁴¹³ Given the above, there is a probable candidate for the ownership of the seal. There are a few passages in the Rus'ian chronicles which record the Greek Antonios / Anton, bishop of Chernihiv.⁴¹⁴ We do not know the date of his consecration, but until 1147 Onouphrios / Onufryi was the bishop of Chernihiv. In 1159, Antonios is recorded to have been the only trusted individual for the fulfillment of the peculiar provisions of metropolitan Konstantinos' testament.⁴¹⁵ The written sources next mention Antonios in connection with the death of kniaz' Sviatoslav Olhovych of Chernihiv (1164).⁴¹⁶ Antonios was compelled to swear to close relatives of the prince that he would not make the death official before the arrival of Sviatoslav's son Oleh to the town. The ultimate aim was to prevent Sviatoslav Vsevolodovych from laying claim to Chernihiv's throne. Antonios broke his oath and informed Sviatoslav, whereby the chronicler called him a "flattering Greek". A later chronicle clearly argues that, apart from Antonios, there were also many people who did not want Oleh Sviatoslavych as prince of Chernihiv.⁴¹⁷ There is, therefore, evidence which suggests that Antonios was active politically and supported specific political groups in his town. In addition, Antonios is also famous for scolding prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodovych for his negligence of fast days, an intervention which cost him the bishopric of Chernihiv (1168).⁴¹⁸ This episode demonstrates his zeal for the upholding the precepts of the church.

⁴¹⁰ *DOSeals* III 53.4; II 9.2; *Zacos* II 784.

⁴¹¹ Τόν instead of Σωτήρ μου would make a proper dodecasyllable.

⁴¹² *DARROUZÈS, Notitiae* 367, not. 13, 762; *ВІВІКОВ, Byzantinorossica* 719.

⁴¹³ Cf. esp. the still open R but already the ligature Ϡ and the very small O under a big Γ.

⁴¹⁴ *СНЧАРОВ, Государство и церковь* 210; *АЛ'ОРОВ, Географічні назви; ANDROSHCHUK, Greek in Rus'; ANDROSHCHUK, Печати; BLAZEJOWSKY, Kyivan Church* 97.

⁴¹⁵ *PSRL* I 349.

⁴¹⁶ *PSRL* II 523.

⁴¹⁷ *PSRL* XL.

⁴¹⁸ According to church law, however, he remained as the lawful bishop of the city. In 1177 Porphyrios / Porfyri is documented as bishop of Chernihiv (*BLAZEJOWSKY, Kyivan Church* 98).

D. Halych

1. Kosmas, (bishop) of Halych

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-1577.



Publ.:

Знуков, Печати иерархов 197, no. 2
("Private collection, found in Ukraine").⁴¹⁹

Dimensions:

D. 25×23 mm. H. 3 mm. W. 11 g. Hole.
The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

Krylos village (old Rus' Halych), Halych district, Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast'.



Page 357

Analogies:

- unknown, in former times in Lviv (found in Krylos);
- unknown, in former times in Lviv;
- unknown (found in Novgorod);
- Private collection in Sevastopol', Ukraine (found in Horodetska v., Dunaivtsi d., Khmel'nyts'k o.);
- Private collection (found in Ukraine);
- Private collection Lviv;
- Private collection.

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God "of the Sign" (Episkepsis). Inscription above her hands: **ΜΡ – ΘΥ**: Μ(ή)τηρ Θ(εο)ῦ: *Mother of God.*

No visible border.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

**ΜΕΡΘΥ
ΣΚΕΠΟΙΣ
ΜΕΚΟΣΜΑΝ
ΓΑΛΙΤΣ
Η:Σ: –**

[+] Μ(ή)τερ Θ(εο)ῦ, σκέποις με
Κοσμάν Γαλίτζης.
+ *Mother of God, may you protect me,*
Kosmas, (bishop) of Halych.

No visible border.

The Nu at the end of the third line and the final Sigma are lost for the greater part on our seal but remain clearly visible on the parallel piece in YANIN – GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печати* III 66-2.

Publ.:

- HRUSHEVS'KYI, *Ілюстрована* 105; YANIN, *Актовые печати* I 66;
- a-b) LAURENT, *Corpus* V/1, 796 (with elder literature and facsimile); VASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* I 1426;
- RYBINA, *Novhorod* V.10.2; YANIN – GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печати* III 66-2;
- Знуков, Печати иерархов 196–197, no. 1;
- Знуков, Печати иерархов 197, no. 3;
- f-g) *Unpublished*;
- BUTYRSKII – ORETSKAYA, *Запечатлевшие историю*, 116.

⁴¹⁹ Without the permission of the owner.

b) second boulloterion

2. VP-462.



Publ.:

ALF'OROV, Молівдовули
невідомих, 252, fig. 6.

Find-spot:

Krylos village, Halych district,
Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 22×24 mm. H. 4.5 mm. W. 11 g. Corroded.
The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 5 h.



Page 357

3. VP-1578.



Unpublished.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.

Dimensions:

D. 23.5 mm. H. 5 mm. W. 15.4 g. Corroded, hit.
The channel of the seal runs from 2 to 8 h.



Page 357

Analogies:

- a) unknown (found in Krylos v.);
- b) unknown (found in Krylos v.);
- c-d) Private collections (found in Ukraine).

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God "of the Sign" (Episkepsis), but the bust of Christ is probably not included in a medallion. Inscription above her hands: MP — . . .: Μ(ή)τηρ [Θ(εο)ῦ]: *Mother of God*.

No visible border.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΜΡΘΥ
ΣΚΕΠΗΣ
ΜΕΚΟΣΜΑ
ΓΑΛΗΤῚ
ΗΣ·

Date:

1157–1165–?

Publ.:

- a) HRUSHEVS'KYI, Печатки з околиці 1;
- b) YANIN, Актовые печати I 65;
- c-d) ЗНУКОВ, Печати иерархов 197, no. 4–5.

[+] Μ(ή)τηρ Θ(εο)ῦ, σκέπ(οι)ς με
Κοσμᾶ(ν) Γαλ(ι)τζης.
+ *Mother of God, may you protect me,
Kosmas, (bishop) of Halych.*
As regards the beginning of the inscription, Μ(ή)τηρ Θ(εο)ῦ would have also been a possible reading. The final letter of the third line is not clear. If it was a N instead of an A the reading would have been Κοσμ(ᾶ)ν.

Border of dots.

Commentary:

The legend is a regular dodecasyllable (B7). Kosmas / Kosma was consecrated in 1157.⁴²⁰ In 1165 he accompanied Andronikos Komnenos (who later became emperor) from Halych to Constantinople.⁴²¹ He was not, however, one of the participants of the *Synodos endemousa* which took place at that time. We do not know the date of Kosmas' death. The second boulloterion is the later one, it could well date from the 70s of the XIIth century.

The next recorded bishop of Halych for the years 1237–1241 was Artemios.⁴²² A list of bishops of Halych, dated to the XVIIIth century, does not mention Artemios at all and records instead Ionas / Jona as Kosmas' successor.⁴²³ Consequently, the most reliable sources are those which mention Kosmas and Artemios as bishops of that city. Y. N. Shchapov mentions Alexios as the first bishop in Halych, but this confusion arises because of his acceptance of the afore-mentioned dubious XVIIIth-century-list as credible.⁴²⁴

The geography of Kosmas' seals is very interesting. The largest number of them have been recorded in Halych but one seal came to light in the area of Chernihiv, while yet another in Novgorod. This distribution is not random. Judging by Kosmas' accompaniment of Andronikos Komnenos to Constantinople, Kosmas must have been a Greek and a well educated bishop. Kosmas was probably a member of a wider network of Greeks living in Rus', as some of his colleagues in Rus' were also Greeks, e.g. Antonios the Greek, bishop of Chernihiv, and Niphon, bishop of Novgorod. The latter ones like Manuel the Greek, bishop of Smolensk, were faithful followers of Constantinople's church policy (see articles on Niphon and Antonios). We can assume that two anonymous seals with the metrical inscription: *One God from the Creator through the Son to the Great (Holy) Spirit. An existing perfect God in perfection* (our nos. II.III.2.J.1 and 2) probably belonged to Kosmas. The theological discussions about the formula *a Patre Filioque* were especially intense in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁴²⁵ The meaning of this verse is very sophisticated and could be understood only by high educated individuals. Most probably, it is no coincidence that one of the seals was found in Zvenyhorod, a region where the family of Spondyles was active,⁴²⁶ and the other in the area of Chernihiv, which was Antonios' bishopric.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁰ PSRL VII 66.

⁴²¹ PSRL II 524; VII 78. Cf. BLAZEJOWSKY, *Kyivan Church* 101.

⁴²² PSRL II 777, 793.

⁴²³ ПЕТРУШЕВУЧ, О введении христианства; BLAZEJOWSKY, *Kyivan Church* 101.

⁴²⁴ ШЧАПОВ, *Государство и церковь* 212, no. 12:1, after GOLUBINSKI, *История* 694, note 3.

⁴²⁵ PAPADAKIS – MEYENDORFF, *Christian East* 223–224, 334–346.

⁴²⁶ SEIBT, *Surnames* 83–85; ANDROSHCHUK, *Imperial Seals* 49–50.

⁴²⁷ ANDROSHCHUK, *Greek in Rus'* 57–76; АЛ'ОРОВ, *Географічні назви* 6–14.

D. Halych

Kosmas, (bishop) of Halych

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-1577.



b) second boulloterion

2. VP-462.



3. VP-1578.



2. Ioannes, bishop of Halych

1. VP-460.



Publ.:

ALF'OROV, Молівдовули
невідомих: 1; ALF'OROV,
Єпископ Іоанн 1.

Dimensions:

D. 21,5×23 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 11.5 g. Blank too
small for the die.

Find-spot:

Bar village (on the banks of
the river Rakivka), Horodok
district, Lviv oblast'.

2. VP-1575.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 22×23.5 mm. H. 5 mm.
W. 10.7 g. Blank too
small for the die.

Find-spot:

Slobidka village, Husiatyn
district, Ternopil' oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) Private collection (found
in old Rus' Peresopnytsia);
- b) Private collection
(found in Ternopil' o.);
- c) Private collection
(found in Ukraine);
- d) Private collection
(found in Ternopil' o.).

Publ.:

- a) Знукон, Иоанн I a;
- b) Знукон, Иоанн I b;
- a-d) Знукон, Печати
иерархов 197–198,
no. 1–4.

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God “of
the Sign” (Episkepsis), but in the spe-
cial form that the bust of the Child
is not within a medallion. Inscript-
ion above her hands: **MP – ΘV:**
Μ(ή)τηρ Θ(εο)ῦ: *Mother of God.*

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+CΡΑΓΗC
ΙΩΕΠΗC
ΚΟΠΘΓΑ
ΛΙΖΤC

+ Σ(φ)ραγ(ι)ς Ἰω(άννου) ἐπ(ι)σκόπου
Γαλί(τζ)(η)ς.

+ *Seal of Ioannes, bishop of Halych.*

Border of dots.

Date:

ca. last third
of the XIIth
century.

Commentary:

The legend preserves some peculiarities. The second letter of the first line is clearly a Rho, the die cutter simply forgot the Phi. The parallel pieces demonstrate that there was not a small Phi above the Rho. Reading a **Τ** in the last line would be in accordance with Greek spelling, but instead the seal has a sign of a Zeta followed by a Tau. If we read Ἰωάννου (by synizese) with three syllables we get a normal dodecasyllable (B 5).

Halych (Γάλιτζα, Γάλιτσα) became a princely capital in 1134, and soon after that, perhaps in 1141, a bishopric. In the XIVth and XVth century, Halych alternated between a metropolis and a bishopric.⁴²⁸ The Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles do not mention Ioannes, only Kosmas (1157–1165–?) and Artemios (documented for 1235 and 1241),⁴²⁹ but a certain “lonas / Jona” is mentioned in a list of bishops of Halych dated to the XVIIIth century. This list (compiled around 1300?) lists the following bishops in order: Alexios, Kosmas, Jonas, Gerontios, Ephrem, Ioannes, Antonios, Meletios, Athanasios, Zosimas, Niphon, Ignatios, Dorotheos.⁴³⁰ Perhaps lonas is a corrupted name for Ioannes. And the latter was indeed Kosmas' successor and bishop of Halych for a period of time around the last third of the XIIth century.

⁴²⁸ Cf. PREISER-KAPPELLER 536–539.

⁴²⁹ Cf. no. II.III.2.D.1; СИСНАРОВ, *Государство и церковь* 212.

⁴³⁰ PETRUSHEVYCH, *О введении христианства* 2; BLAZEJOWSKYJ, *Kyivan Church* 101–102.

1. VP-460.



2. VP-1575.



E. Novgorod

1. [Ioannes(?)], (bishop) of Novgorod

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-1096.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 18.5×21 mm.
D₂. 16.5 mm. H. 3.5 mm.
W. 6.3 g. Blank too small for the die.

Find-spot:

Pereiaslav city, Pereiaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyi district, Kyiv oblast'.

2. VP-1584.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 10.5×17.5 mm.
H. 2.5 mm. W. 2.7 g.
Blank too small for die.

Find-spot:

Hlyns'k village, Romny district, Sumy oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) Private collection (found in Ukraine);
- b) Private collection (found in Chernihiv o.).

Publ.:

- a-b) Знукон, Печати иерархов 190, Ioann Popian, no. 2–3.
- b) second boulloterion

3. VP-1101.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 16.5×19.5 mm.
H. 2.5 mm. W. 4.1 g.
Blank too small for die.
The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

Stari Bezradychi village, Obukhiv district, Kyiv oblast'.



Analopies:

- a) DO 58.106. 3623;
b) DO 58.106. 5570.

Publ.:

- a) DOSeals I 84.1(a); LAURENT, *Corpus* V/3, 1788; YANIN – GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печати* III 53b-2;
b) DOSeals I 84.1(b); LAURENT, *Corpus* V/1-2, Planches 794; BULGAKOVA, *Osteuropa* 3.2.3.11; YANIN, *Актовые печати* I 59;
a-b) WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* I 4.

Obv. Bust of St. Ioannes Theologos (the Evangelist), holding the Gospels (l. hand) and blessing (r. hand). Inscription: Θ|ΙΩ|Ο – Θ|Ε|Ο|Λ.; 'Ο ἁ(γιος) 'Ιω(άννης) ὁ Θεολ(όγος): St. Ioannes Theologos (first boulloterion); .|ΙΩ|Ο – . . |. | . . |Γ.; ['Ο ἁ(γιος)] 'Ιω(άννης) ὁ [Θεολό]γ(ος): St. Ioannes Theologos (second boulloterion).

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

a)

ΑΓΝΕ
ΣΚΕΠΟΙΣΜ,
ΤΟΝΘΥΤΗ
ΝΕΡΟΓΡΑ
ΔΩΝ

b)

ΑΓΝΕ
ΣΚΕΠΟΙΣΜ,
ΤΟΝΘΥΤΗ
ΕΝΡΟΓΡ.
ΔΩΝ

a) 'Αγνέ, σκέποις μ(ε) τὸν θύτην
Νεβογράδων.

b) 'Αγνέ, σκέποις μ(ε) τὸν θύτην
[Ν]εβογρ[ά]δων.

+ Pure one, may you protect me, (the
bishop) of Novgorod.

Border of dots.

Date:

first half
of the XIIth
century,
perhaps
1110–1130.

Commentary:

In the second line of the seal type a, it is unclear whether we should read ΣΚΕΠΟΙΣ (with a very tall Omikron) or ΣΚΕΠΗΣ.

From three specimens, we can suggest the existence of a third boulloterion (which bears differences in the distribution of the legend and the transcription of the city's name - ΝΩΡΟΓΡΑΔΩ[N]).⁴³¹

The metrical legend is anonymous. Most probably, this was the seal of the office of the bishop of Velikij Novgorod, who held a prominent role in local urban authority. On paleographical grounds, the seals should be dated to the first half of the XIIth century,⁴³² while type A appears to be the latest.

Perhaps the figure of St. Ioannes Theologos hints to the name of the bishop. There was indeed a bishop Ioannes / Ivan Popian / Popyn active in the time of these seals. He had been a secular priest for twenty years before he was appointed bishop in 1108; after his consecration he returned to Novgorod in 1110. He resigned in 1130.⁴³³

Ἄγνή was a very common epitheton of the Theotokos, also found in the legend of Niphon / Nifont's seal, Ioannes' successor;⁴³⁴ ἄγνέ is sometimes used as appellation of St. Ioannes Theologos.

⁴³¹ a) YANIN – GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печати* III 53-a (from Novgorod); b) НЕЧИТАЙЛО II 416 (from Kyiv oblast'); c) ЗНУКОВ, *Печати иерархов* 190, Иоанн Попьян, no. 1 (from Kyiv oblast').

⁴³² Yanin's attribution to Gregorios (1186–1193) is surely too late.

⁴³³ Cf. BLAZEJOWSKIY, *Kyivan Church* 117.

⁴³⁴ Cf. no. II.III.2.E.2.

C. Chernihiv

1. Antonios, (bishop) of Chernihiv

1. VP-291.



2. VP-1081.



3. VP-1573.



E. Novgorod

1. [Ioannes (?)], (bishop) of Novgorod

a) first boulloterion

1. VP-1096.



2. VP-1584.



3. VP-1101.



2. Niphon, (bishop) of Novgorod

VP-924.

*Unpublished.**Dimensions:*D. 21.5 mm. D₂. 17.5 mm.

H. 5 mm. W. 11 g.

*Find-spot:*Bila Tserkva district,
Kyiv oblast'.*Analogies:*

- a) unknown (found in Novgorod);
- b) Private collection (found in Novgorod);
- c) Private collection, Ukraine (found in Ukraine);
- d-e) Private collections (found in Ukraine).

Publ.:

- a) YANIN, *Актовые печати* I 55;
- b) KUPRANIS, *Датированные печати иерархов* 92–96; YANIN – GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печати* III 55.2;
- c) unpublished;
- d-e) ЗНУКОВ, *Печати иерархов* 192, Nifont, no. 7–8.



Obv. Bust of the Mother of God “of the Sign” (Episkepsis), though the (big) bust of Christ is not included in a medallion. The Virgin is spreading her maphorion in the gesture of prayer. Sigla: **MP – ΘV**: Μ(ήτ)ηρ Θ(εο)ῦ: *Mother of God*.

The Mu resembles the “Palaiologan” form (Η), but it is probably a regular Μ.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

— ∴ —
ΑΓΝΗΚ
ΕΠΟΙCΜΕ
ΝΗΦΩΝΤΑ
ΝΩΡΟΓΡΑ
ΔΟΝ∴

+ Ἀγνή, σκέποις με Ν(ι)φ(ο)ντα
Ν(ο)βογράφου.

+ *Chaste (Virgin), may you protect me,
Niphon, (the bishop) of Novgorod.*

The legend includes some accents. The Beta (l. 4) looks unusually angular but its bottom part is probably not closed.

Border of dots.**Date:**

1130–1156
(perhaps
1130–
ca. 1045).

In addition, ten specimens bear witness to a second type of Niphon's seal.⁴³⁵ The obverse is very similar, but the reverse legend reads: +

ΑΓΝΗ | ΣΚΕΠΟΙC ΜΕ | ΝΗΦΩΝΤΑ | ΝΩΒΟΓΡΑ | ∴Δ∴

The final Delta has a semicircle above symbolizing –ων, so we have to read Ν(ο)βογράφων. As the Beta is closed here, this type is the later one.

⁴³⁵ Athens 177β, ed. LAURENT, *Corpus* V 794 (only the text, with elder literature, but the photo stems from a different seal!); b) Hermitage, Num. Otd. 25, ed. BULGAKOVA, *Osteuropa* 3.2.3.12b; WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Metr. Corpus* I 26; c) GTG 12529 (found in Novgorod), ed. YANIN, *Актовые печати* I 54, 3; d) Novgorod Museum, 33656-3 (found in Novgorod), ed. YANIN – GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печати* III 54-4; e) Private collection, Moscow (found in Ivanov o.); f) Private collection, Sevastopol', Ukraine (found in Horodenka d., Ivano-Frankivs'k o.); g) Private collection (found in Chernihiv o.); h) Private collection (found in Ternopil' o.); i) Private collection (found in Ukraine); j) Private collection (found in Khislavichi d., Smolensk o.); e-j) ed. ЗНУКОВ, *Печати иерархов* 191–192, Нифонт, no. 1–6.



Commentary:

Niphon / Nyfont, the “holy man, very respectful of God”, a monk from the Kyivan Cave Monastery, became bishop of Novgorod in 1130 as the successor of Ioannes.⁴³⁶ He was appointed, at least twice, as a negotiator of embassies to invite princes to Novgorod. In 1140/41 he went to Kyiv to invite kniaz' Sviatoslav Vsevolodovich (1123–1194), but on his way back he was detained and held as a hostage in Kyiv by kniaz' Vsevolod Olhovych (1094–1146).⁴³⁷ In 1154, he, along with other prominent Novgorodians, invited Mstyslav Yuriovych to be a prince of Novgorod.⁴³⁸ Niphon was a faithful supporter of Byzantine church policy. He – like Manuel the Greek, bishop of Smolensk – opposed the election of Klym Smoliatych as metropolitan in 1147.⁴³⁹ Niphon and his group approved the prohibition of metropolitan Michael I to abstain from holding service in St. Sofia in the absence of the elected metropolitan, and criticized the clergy who disagreed on this.⁴⁴⁰ The Novgorodian chronicler records that in 1151 Niphon limewashed the church of St. Sofia and covered it with a lead roof. Niphon is also credited for the construction of two churches in Novgorod, dedicated to St. Basileios and Sts. Konstantinos and Helena.⁴⁴¹ He died in 1156 in Kyiv waiting for the arrival of the metropolitan Konstantinos I and was buried in Kyiv-Pecherska Lavra.⁴⁴² In a panegyric dedicated to him, Niphon is presented as having been educated by the patriarch and praised for his firmness against the pressures of kniaz' Iziaslav Mstyslavych and his supporters to acknowledge Klym Smoliatych.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁶ NPL 22, 207.

⁴³⁷ PSRL I 308; II 307–308.

⁴³⁸ NPL 216.

⁴³⁹ PSRL I 315; II 340–341.

⁴⁴⁰ PSRL II 340–341.

⁴⁴¹ NPL 29, 216.

⁴⁴² PSRL I 347; АБРАМОВИЧ, *Памяник* 97–98.

⁴⁴³ On the basis of very meagre sources some scholars suggested that Niphon “received the title of archbishop and was declared a saint because of his opposition to Klym” – BLĄŻEJOWSKI, *Kyivan Church* 117. See also LAURENT, *Corpus V* 794. According to Andrzej Poppe Niphon was honored by the title of archbishop after his death (LMA VI 1147).

F. Polotsk

1. Dionysios, bishop of Polotsk

VP-1241.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 29×29.5 mm.
D₂. 23 (23.5×25 Rev.) mm.
H. 4 mm. W. 18.3 g. Obv. and rev. struck off-center. The channel of the seal runs from 12 to 5 h.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) Novgorod Museum (found in Novgorod);
- b) Hermitage, Department of Numismatics 11;
- c) Private collection, Moscow (found in Polotsk);
- d-f) Private collections (found in Vitebsk o.);
- g) Private collection (found in Minsk d.).

Publ.:

- a) ЯНИН, Именные 10–1; ЯНИН, Актовые печати I 64.1;
- b) ЯНИН, Именные 10–2; ЯНИН, Актовые печати I 64.2;
- c-g) Знукон, Печати иерархов 198–199, Dionisi, no. 1–5.



Obv. Bust of the Mother of God “of the Sign” (Episkepsis), with the bust of Christ in an oval medallion. Sigla above her hands: **MP – ΘΥ**: M(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ: *Mother of God*.

Border of dots.



Rev. Inscription of five lines:

—
CΦΡΑΓΙC
ΔVONHCIΘ
EPICKOΠΘ
ΠVΛOTZH
KOV

Σφραγίς Δ(ι)ον(υ)σίου ἐπισκόπου
Πυλoτζήκου.

The seal of Dionysios, bishop of Polotsk.

Border of dots.

Date:

before
1169–
1182/1183.



Commentary:

According to Yanin, there are traces of a Sigma before the Kappa at the beginning of the last line. This, however, would disturb the inscription's inner symmetry and, anyway, new parallels contradict such a reading. The first letter of the bishopric could also be a Beta instead of a Pi, but we prefer the latter in line with the form found in the *notitiae*.⁴⁴⁴

We have only a few pieces of information about this bishop Dionysios / Dyony sii. His predecessor, Kosmas, is last mentioned as a bishop in 1156, while the Hypation chronicle records his successor, Nikolaos / Mykola, as holding this office in 1183.⁴⁴⁵ Dyony sii's only recorded deed is the monastic tonsure of Kyrianna and Olha – daughters of kniaz' Viacheslav Sviatoslavych, brother of St. Euphrosyne / Evfrosyniia of Polotsk.⁴⁴⁶ The tonsure took place before 1169,⁴⁴⁷ when St. Evfrosynia made her pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in the time of Patriarch Lukas Chrysoberges (1156–1169).

While the bishopric of Polotsk was installed before 1105, the princes of Polotsk, who were not well integrated in the “princely family” of the Rus', lost the control of Vitebsk, Minsk and Drutsk in the XIIth and XIIIth centuries. The latter regions were part of Dionysios' bishopric.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁴ DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae* 367 (not. 13, 763: Πολοτζίκων); 403 (not. 17, appendix 2, 145: Πολότσκα).

⁴⁴⁵ PSRL II 629. For his (cyrillic) seal see ЗНУКОВ, Печати иерархов 199, Nikolai.

⁴⁴⁶ PVL 172–179, 177; BLAZEJOWSKI, *Kyivan Church* 136.

⁴⁴⁷ Perhaps in the winter 1166/1167.

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. PREISER-KAPPELLER 520.

G. Rostov

1. Leontios, bishop of Rostov

VP-205.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**D. 25 mm. D₂. 20 mm.

H. 3 mm. W. 6.3 g.

Half of the seal.

Find-spot:Kvitneve (Zhovtneve)
village, Popil'nia district,
Zhytomyr oblast'.

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God “of the Sign” (Episkepsis). The bust of Christ is not included in a medallion. Inscription above her hands: **ΜΡ – . . .**
M(ήτ)ηρ [Θ(εο)ῶ]: Mother of God.
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

. ΦΡΑ
 . . . ΛΕΟΝΤ
 . . ΕΠΙΣΚΟ
 ΠΡΟΟΤ
 ΟΡΟΝ

[Σ]φρα[γίς] Λεοντ[ίου] ἐπισκ(ό)που
 Ροστόβου.

Seal of Leontios, bishop of Rostov.

Border of dots.



Page 372

Date:

1158–1183.

Commentary

The name of the owner, ΛΕΟΝΤ., can be read either as Λεοντίου or Λέοντος. Given that the traces of the last letter point to Ϲ, we prefer the first reading. The probable owner of this seal is “Leon” the Greek, bishop of Rostov, who is also attested in the chronicles.⁴⁴⁹ He was consecrated in 1158⁴⁵⁰ by Metropolitan Konstantinos I (1155–1159). His predecessor was another Greek, Nester / Nestor of Rostov, who was replaced by Leontios for an unknown reason. According to the Laurentian chronicle, Leontios’ installation in Suzdal⁴⁵¹ and the replacement of Nester was considered unlawful.⁴⁵² Leontios had stirred the people of Suzdal to abstain from meat consumption during God’s feasts (one week before and seven weeks after Easter Sunday). This movement was opposed by kniaz’ Andrii Boholiubs’kyi and bishop Theodoret who accused Leontios of heresy (“Leon’s heresy”). In 1159, he was expelled for the first time by the people of Novgorod and Suzdal’, who reproached him for ‘enriching churches at the expense of robbing of priests.’⁴⁵³ In 1162, he was expelled again, along with Andrii’s brothers, Mstyslav, Vasyl’ko and his two nephews, the sons of his brother (Rostyslav Yuriovich), by kniaz’ Andrii Boholiubs’kyi. As the Hypatian Chronicle puts it: “This aspired him to be

⁴⁴⁹ For problems with the inconsistency of the chronicles (calling Leontios inaccurately Leon) cf. YANIN – GAIDUKOV, *Актовые печати III*, p. 29–36.

⁴⁵⁰ PSRL II 491.

⁴⁵¹ Suzdal became a separate bishopric only at a later date.

⁴⁵² PSRL I 352.

⁴⁵³ PSRL II 494.

the single ruler of all Suzdal".⁴⁵⁴ It is said that Leon was recalled by Andrii who confined his jurisdiction to the city of Rostov. Four months later, Leontios left Rostov for Kyiv. After the examination of his 'heresy' by Metropolitan Theodoros and Kniaz' Rostyslav Mstyslavych in Kyiv, Leon was despatched with the above-mentioned Andrii's nephews to emperor Manuel. They met him on the Danube; Vasyl'ko was granted four towns on the Danube while his brother Mstyslav received the city of Ascalon on the southern coast of Palestine.⁴⁵⁵ Things, however, did not turn out well for Leontios. He launched dangerous and fruitless debates about feasting with the emperor and was forced to seek support of the patriarch of Constantinople. Judging from the reply of Loukas Chrysoberges to Andrei, dated to 1168 or earlier, Leontios was cleared of all charges and confirmed as "hegoumenos" of Suzdal'.⁴⁵⁶ Leontios is mentioned for the last time in 1183 in connection with his death and an unsuccessful attempt to ordain a new bishop in Rostov – Nikolaos / Nikola the Greek – by Metropolitan Nikephoros.⁴⁵⁷

There is also another seal of Leontios from Novgorod, Gorodishche, first published by Yanin. On the obverse of this specimen there is a representation of the Mother of God (*orans*, Blachernitissa-type) in full length while on the reverse there is a five-line inscription in Greek, probably reading: ΘΚΕ Ρ,Θ – ΛΕΟΝΤΙΩ – ΑΧ ΕΠΙC-ΚΟΠΩ – ΡΟ-CΤΑΥΛΩ, - Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) – Λεοντίω – (μον)(α)χ(ῶ) ἐπισ-κόπω Ρο-σταύλω(ν).⁴⁵⁸ Above the final Omega there is a horizontal bar (meaning Nu).

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid, 520. The word 'самовластец' in the chronicle is obviously taken from the Greek αὐτοκράτωρ – emperor.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid, 522.

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. GRUMEL, *Regestes* 2^{III}, no. 1084. This letter is preserved in two editions – the earlier one published by Metropolitan Makarii (ΜΑΚΑΡΙΙ, *История* 25, примечание 33, Приложение 2, 298–300) which is considered as a reliable source while the later one reproduced in the Nikonovskaia chronicle represents a late fabrication – see *Памятники древнерусского канонического права. Русская историческая библиотека* VI. St. Petersburg 1880, 64–76. There is discussion about the chronology of these events – Соколов, *Архидиакон* 98–99; Voronin, Андрей Боголюбский 29–50; Yanin, Леонтий 5–18.

⁴⁵⁷ PSRL II 629–630.

⁴⁵⁸ YANIN, Леонтий 18; YANIN – ГАЙДУКОВ, *Актовые печати* III 62 a. The editors preferred to read: ἁ(ρ)χ(η)ἐπισκόπω Ροστ(όβου) δούλω [σου] (p. 29).

H. Yur'iv

1. Michael, monk and bishop (of Yur'iv?)

VP-1068.

*Unpublished.***Dimensions:**D. 28×28.5 mm. D₂. 24 mm.

H. 4.5 mm. W. 17.8 g.

Find-spot:

Kyiv oblast'.



Page 372

Obv. Bust of St. Georgios with a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand), dressed in a cloak over the armor. Vertical inscriptions: Θ|Γ|Ε – Ψ|Ρ|Γ.; Ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος: *Saint Georgios*. Circular inscription (starting at the top): +ΚΕΡΟΗΘΕΙΜΙΧ ΔΗΛΜΟΝΑΧΣΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩ: Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει Μιχαήλ μοναχ(ῶ) (καὶ) ἐπισκόπῳ: *Lord aid Michael, monk and bishop*.

Border of dots.

Rev. Full-length standing figure of the archangel Michael with a long labarum (r. hand) and a globus (l. hand). It is unclear whether the globus is a cruciger or the dots merely symbolize the pearls on the wings. Inscriptions on either side: Μ – Χ: Μ(ι)χ(αήλ): *Michael*. Perhaps this side was the intended as the obverse.

Border of dots.

Date:

ca.1070s.

Commentary:

Although Michael does not directly mention his bishopric, the figure of St. Georgios could point to the diocese Hagios Georgios in the city of Yur'iv on the Ros' River (today Bila Tserkva) south of Kyiv. In the Laurentian and Radzivilian chronicles he is called Michael / Myhailo Gurgevskii / Gurievskii.⁴⁵⁹ He was present at the transfer of the relics of the saints Borys and Hlib in 1072⁴⁶⁰ and next year he attended the foundation of the church of the Kyiv Cave Monastery, while the metropolitan Georgios was absent (in Byzantium).⁴⁶¹ Given that his successor, Antonios, was already bishop in 1089, Michael must have held his post between c.1072 (at the latest) and 1089 (at the latest).

⁴⁵⁹ PSRL I 181, note 'B'; BLAZEJOWSKY, *Kyivan Church* 107–108. This constitutes the first evidence for the existence of a bishop in this diocese.

⁴⁶⁰ PSRL II 171; SREZNEVSKII, *Сказание* 75.

⁴⁶¹ PSRL II 171.

I. Without toponym

1. Thomas, monk and bishop (of Volodymyr in Volhynia)

1. VP-1638.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 23×22 mm. H. 4 mm.
W. 9.8 g. Pressed on the
sides. The channel of the
seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

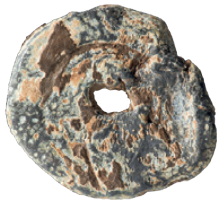
Find-spot:

Lypyny village, Luts'k
district, Volyn' oblast'.



Page 373

2. VP-1639.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 26×27 mm. H. 4 mm.
W. 19.7 g. Bent, hit,
corroded, hole in centre.

Find-spot:

Volyn' oblast'.



Page 373

Analogies:

Private collection
(found in Ukraine).

Unpublished.

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God, prob-
ably Blachernitissa type (without the
child). Inscription above the r. hand:
ΜΡ Μ(ήτη)ρ [Θ(εο)ῦ]: *Mother of God.*
Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

— + —
ΘΚΕΡ,Θ
ΤΩΣΩΔΘ,
ΘΩΜΑΔΣ
ΕΠΙΣΚΟ
ΠΟ—

Date:

ca. 1050/1090.

+ Θ(εοτό)κ(ε) β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ
δού(λω) Θωμᾶ (μον)(α)χ(ῶ) (καί)
ἐπισκόπ(ω).
+ *Mother of God, help your servant*
Thomas, monk and bishop.
Border of dots.

Commentary:

The find-spots could indicate that Thomas was the (first?) bishop of Volodymyr in Volhynia. Known kniaz's in this time were Ihor Yaroslavych (1054–1057), Vsevolod Yaroslavych (1073–1076), Yaropolk Iziaslavych (1079–1086) and Davyd Ihorovych (1087–1099, 1100).⁴⁶²

⁴⁶² Cf. LMA VIII 1802 (G. PICKHAN).

G. Rostov

Leontios, bishop of Rostov

VP-205.



H. Yur'iv

Michael, monk and bishop (of Yur'iv?)

VP-1068.



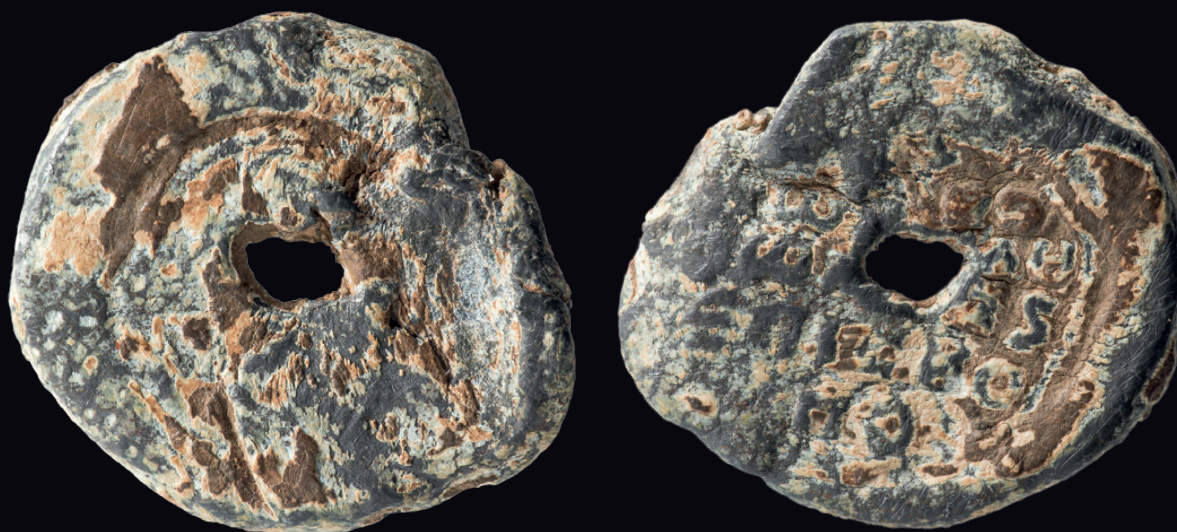
I. Without toponym

Thomas, monk and bishop (of
Volodymyr in Volhynia)

1. VP-1638.



2. VP-1639.



J. Anonymous

1. Anonymous seal (*Εἰς Θεός Ι*)

1. VP-1647.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 16.5×17 mm. H. 2.5 mm.
W. 3.3 g. Hit. Blank too small for the die, half of the seal. The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

Ruzhyn district, Zhytomyr oblast'.

2. VP-1648.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 16.5×15.5 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 3.2 g. Blank too small for the die, half of the seal. The channel of the seal runs from 12 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

Krylos (old Halych) village, Halych district, Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast'.

3. VP-1649.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 15×16 mm. H. 2 mm.
W. 2.9 g. Blank too small for the die, half of the seal. The channel of the seal runs from 11 to 6 h.

Find-spot:

Ukraine.

4. VP-1650.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 15.5×16 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 3 g. Blank too small for the die, half of the seal.

Find-spot:

Mlyniv city, Mlyniv district, Rivne oblast'.

5. VP-331.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 15×12 mm. H. 2.5 mm.
W. 1.9 g. Blank too small for the die, half of the seal. The channel of the seal runs from 1 to 7 h.

Find-spot:

Zhytomyr oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) Novgorod State United Museum Preserve, no. KP 39214 (found in Velikii Novgorod);
- b) Likhachev collection (found in Kyiv);
- c) Novgorod Archaeological Expedition;
- d) Private collection of O. Alf'orov (found in Tupyshiv v., Horodnia d., Chernihiv o.);
- e-f) Private collection (found in Kyiv o.);
- g-h) Private collection, RF (found in "Rurikovo gorodishche", RF);
- i) Institute for the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences, no. САЭ-2011/№56.

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

ΕΙΘ .
ΕΚΓΕΝΕ
ΤΑΟΔΙΥ .
— . —

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

.. CEC
ΜΕΓΑΠΝ
ΕΥΜΑ
— . —

Date:

ca. 1130/1180.

Εἷς Θ[ι]ς ἐκ Γενέταο δι' Υ[ι]οῦς ἐς
μέγα Πνεῦμα.

*One God from the Creator through the
Son to the Great (Holy) Spirit.*

Border of dots.

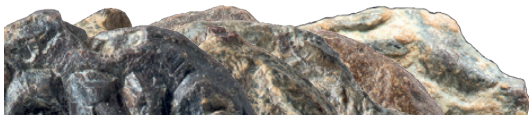
Commentary:

The type Γενέταο constitutes an epic genitive.

The legend derives from a verse (hexameter) of Gregory of Nazianz.⁴⁶³
On another type of seal this verse is found on the obverse, while the reverse bears the next in line verse of Gregory.⁴⁶⁴

Publ.:

- a-b) BULGAKOVA, *Osteuropa* 1.7.18-a,b;
- c) ISAEV — GAIDUKOV — OLEINKOV, Великий Новгород 6;
- d) unpublished;
- e-f) VINOGRADOV — ШКНАИДЗЕ, Великий Ермафий, 5-6;
- g-i) BELETSKI, Ладога, 406.



⁴⁶³ *Carmina moralia*, column 632, line 7. No. II.III.2.J.2. For the commentary see there.

⁴⁶⁴ No. 2.J.2. For the commentary see there.

Anonymous

Anonymous seal (*Εἰς Θεός Ι*)

1. VP-1647.



2. VP-1648.



3. VP-1649.



4. VP-1650.



5. VP-331.



2. Anonymous seal (Εἰς Θεός II)

1. VP-658.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 18×17 mm. H. 3 mm.
W. 5 g. Blank too
small for the die.

Find-spot:

Zvenyhorod village,
Pustomy district,
Lviv oblast'.

2. VP-1618.



Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 16 mm. H. 2.5 mm.
W. 3.3 g. Blank too
small for the die. Hit.

Find-spot:

Chernihiv oblast'.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

+ΕΙCΘ .
.. ΓΕΝΕΤΑ .
.. ΒΙΕΟCΕCΜ
. ΓΑΠΝ .
— . —

In the last line there is a minuscule Alpha between the Gamma and the Pi, an extremely rare phenomenon on seals of this time.

No visible border.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

...
ΜΕΝΗC
.. ΟΤΗΤΟC
. ΝΙΤΕΛΕ ...
.. ΤΕΛΕΙ
HC

+ Εἰς Θε(εὸ)[ς ἐκ] Γενέτα[ο δι'] Υἱέος
ἐς μ[έ]γα Πν(εῦμ)[α]
[Ἰστα]μένης [θε]ότητος [ἐ]νι
τελέ[οισι] τελείης.

+ One God from the Creator through the
Son to the Great (Holy) Spirit

An Existing perfect God in perfection.

The Latin transcription in the PG:

Unus Deus ex Genitore per Filium in mag-
num Spiritum

Sita in perfectis perfecta divinitate.

No visible border.

Date:

ca. 1130/1180.

We suggest a (now lost) Sigma as the second letter of the first word on the reverse ([Ἰστα]μένης), as this is in accordance with inner symmetry. The correct reading of the third line should have been ΤΕΛΕΟΙ-CI, but the seal seems to preserve ΤΕΛΕΙΟΙ-[CI]. Be that as it may, there is most probably an accent above the Iota and above the Omikron in θεότητος in the second line.

Commentary:

The other type of seal⁴⁶⁵ bears only one verse from the “*Carmina moralia*” of Gregorios of Nazianzos on both sides, here this verse is present on the obverse, followed by the next verse of the poem on the reverse.⁴⁶⁶

Hexameters are extremely rare on Byzantine metrical lead seals, but this is not an original inscription, merely a reproduction of Gregorios’ text. The owner of the seal, probably a bishop (perhaps in western Rus’), or even the metropolitan,⁴⁶⁷ showcased his high education by featuring the verses of a religious authority. This constitutes a unique phenomenon, otherwise unattested in Byzantine sigillography.

The historical background is apparently the serious pneumatological doctrinal controversy of the Greek and Latin churches, the “*Filioque*”. The Greek-Orthodox church persisted on the old doctrine, that the Holy Spirit proceeds (only) from the Father, not from the Son as well.⁴⁶⁸ An alternative doctrine, however, already expressed in Early Christian time, argued that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son. This thesis steadily became the preferred one in the West, with Rome declaring it the true and official doctrine. This caused a major controversy with Constantinople. The disagreement culminated with the schisma of 1054 when the issue was regarded as a chief theological gravamen. In regions where both churches competed for influence the quarrel took a more intense form. Perhaps the verses of the great church father Gregorios of Nazianzos were selected as a kind of compromise.

Page 382



⁴⁶⁵ No. 2J.1.

⁴⁶⁶ Gregory of Nazianzos, *Carmina moralia* 632, 7-8 according the TLG, column 632 in PG 37.

⁴⁶⁷ In the latter case the well-educated theologian Konstantinos I would be a possibility.

⁴⁶⁸ In the Symbolon, the Credo, the Orthodox church prays: *Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον. τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαι διὰ τῶν προφητῶν.*

3. Abbots

1. Prochoros, abbot

VP-274.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 10×22 mm. H. 3 mm.

W. 3.7 g. Half of seal.

Find-spot:

Novosilky village, Makariv district, Kyiv oblast'.

Analogies:

- a) Private collection, Sevastopol', Ukraine (found in Avdiivka v., Sosnutsia d., Chernihiv o.);
- b) Private collection, Yalta (found in Syberezh v., Ripky d., Chernihiv o.);
- c) Private collection, Ukraine (found in Boryspil' d., Kyiv o.);
- d) Private collection, RF (found in Zhytomyr o.);
- e) Private collection (found in Kyiv o.).

Publ.:

- a) Знуков, Прохор 1-а; Знуков, Печати иерархов 200, Прохор, no. 1;
- b) Знуков, Прохор 1-б; Знуков, Печати иерархов 200, Прохор, no. 2;
- c) Знуков, Печати иерархов 200, Прохор, no. 3;
- d) unpublished;
- e) Знуков, Печати иерархов 200, Прохор, no. 4.



Page 383

Obv. Bust of the Mother of God "of the Sign" (Episkepsis). Inscription above her hands: $\overline{\text{MP}} - \overline{\text{ΘV}}$: $\text{M}(\eta\tau)\eta\rho \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\tilde{\upsilon}$: *Mother of God*.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

$\overline{\text{ΘΚΕΡΘ}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΠΡΟΧΟΡ}}$
 $\dots \overline{\text{M}}$
 $\dots$

Date:

1112–1126.

+ $\Theta(\epsilon\omicron\tau\acute{o})\kappa\epsilon \beta(\sigma\eta)\theta(\epsilon\iota) \text{Προχόρ}[(\varphi)\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon]\mu[\acute{\epsilon}\nu(\varphi)]$.
+ *Mother of God, aid Prochoros, hegoumenos.*

Border of dots.

Commentary:

The last two lines read O HΓHM|ENO (according to the parallels). Given that none of these types of seals were found on Byzantine territory but in the Rus', we assume that Prochoros was the abbot of an important monastery in the Rus'. The name Prochoros is an unusual name, almost exclusively used by monks.

A plausible owner of this seal is Prochoros, the abbot of the Cave Monastery in Kyiv, who was elected in 1112, when the former abbot, Theoktistos, was installed as bishop of Chernihiv.⁴⁶⁹ Both the metropolitan and prince Sviatopolk approved the election of Prochoros. In 1115 Prochoros participated in the transfer of the relics of saints Borys and Hlib in the new church in Vyshhorod.⁴⁷⁰ Prochoros died in 1126.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁹ PSRL II 274. Prochoros' seals found in Chernihiv could stem from continuing correspondence with Theoktistos.

⁴⁷⁰ PSRL II 280. АБРАМОВИЧ, Пам'яток.

⁴⁶⁹ PSRL II 290.

4. Monk

1. Leon Spileotes, monk

VP-493.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 20 mm. D₂. 16 mm.
H. 2.5 mm. W. 5.9 g. Break
of the channel on reverse.

Find-spot:

Nehrashi village, Kyiv-
Sviatoshyn district,
Kyiv oblast'.

Analogies:

Private collection of
K. Smychkov (this seal was
found in Romny d., Sumy o.);
according to K. Smychkov
there were four more seals
found in the Ukraine (one
of them from Kyiv oblast').

Unpublished.



Page 383

Obv. Full-length standing figure of the Virgin holding Christ on her left arm (Hodegetria type). Sigla: $\overline{\text{MP}} - \overline{\text{ΘV}}$: Μ(ήτηρ)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ: *Mother of God*. In-
scriptions: $\text{Η}|\cdot|\text{Π}|\cdot| - \text{ΛV}|\Delta\text{Ε}|\cdot\cdot$.
The first letter of this unusual epi-
theton of the Theotokos is missing on
all known specimens. Perhaps there
is a Church-Slavonic term behind this
designation.

Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΘΚ̅ . Ρ,Θ,
ΛΕΟΝΤΙ
ΑΧΤΟCΠΙ
ΛΕΩΤΗ

Θ(εοτό)κ[ε] β(οή)θ(ει) Λέοντι
(μον)(α)χ(ᾱ) τ(ᾱ) Σπυλεώτη.
Theotokos aid Leon Spileotis, monk.

Border of dots.

Date:

last third of
the XIth –
first third of
the XIIth c.

Commentary:

The correct spelling of the surname would be Σπηλαιώτης (from σπήλαιον, “grotto, cavern, cave”). In a Byzantine milieu, the adjective “Spelaiotes” would denote a monk of the well-known monastery “Mega Spelaion” in the north of the Peloponnesos. Taking into account, however, that all known specimens of this type of seals were found in the Rus', we suggest that Leon was a monk in the famous Cave Monastery in Kyiv. Leon could either have been a prominent monk there, or perhaps an abbot.

Anonymous seal (Εἰς Θεός II)

1. VP-658.



2. VP-1618.



Abbots

Prochoros, abbot

VP-274.



Monk

Leon Spileotes, monk

VP-493.



IV. APPENDIX

1. Georgios(?)

VP-399.

Unpublished.

Dimensions:

D. 27×29 mm. D₂. 26 mm.

H. 3 mm. W. 11.2 g.

The channel of the seal runs from 12 to 7 h.

Hole at the top.

Find-spot:

Kyiv oblast'.



Obv. Bust of St. Georgios with a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand), bearing a paludamentum (with fibula) over the cuirass. Vertical inscriptions: $\Theta|\Gamma|\epsilon|\Psi|\rho - .\text{I}|\text{I}|\text{C}$: $\Theta \acute{\alpha}(\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma) \Gamma\epsilon\acute{\omega}\rho[\gamma]\iota[\omicron]\varsigma$; *Saint Georgios*. The obverse resembles the seals of Yaroslav Volodymyrovych respectively seals of a Georgios attributed to him.

Border of dots.

Date:

ca. 1030/1100.

Commentary:

The legend of the reverse is nearly destroyed by the strong pressure producing a kind of a cross. Near the center of the field there are probably traces of an Omega. Perhaps the legend featured only the usual invocation along with the name Georgios, the first name of the sealing person. Perhaps the latter was a Rus'ian kniaz'.



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PERSONAL NAMES

- Adrijan / Adrianos, bishop of Bilhorod 349
 Alakasseus Konstantinos 132–133
 Alakasseus, family name 133
 Alanos Nikephoros 249
 Aleksandr Yaroslavovich “Nevskiy”, kniaz’ 332
 Alexios / Oleksii, metropolitan of Kyiv 351
 Alexios I Komnenos, emperor 30, 41, 43, 44, 62, 122, 249, 277
 Alexios Stoudites, patriarch 295
 Alexios Tarchaneiotes, sebastos 100
 Alexios (?) Tarchaneiotes, proedros and doux 100
 Alexios, bishop of Halych 356, 358
 Alexios, monk 118
 Anastasios, spatharokandidatos 63
 Andreas (Ioannes?) Hikanatos 148
 Andreas 271, 288
 Andreas, apostle 123
 Andreas, abbot 339
 Andrei Aleksandrovich, kniaz’ 339
 Andrii Boholiub’s’kyi, kniaz’ 317, 368–369
 Andronikos Doukas 83
 Andronikos I Komnenos, emperor 33
 Angoure s/ Angourios, family name 116
 Anna Dalassene, wife of Ioannes Komnenos 43
 Antonios, (bishop) of Chernihiv 352–353, 356
 Antonios, bishop of Halych 358
 Antonios, bishop of Yur’iv 370
 Anund Jacob 213
 Aristenos, family name 134
 Arkadios, bishop of Novgorod 311
 Armenios (?) Leon 134
 Arsenios, abbot 128
 Artemios, bishop of Halych 356, 358
 Artenos, family name 134
 Athanasios Philanthropenos 128
 Athanasios, bishop of Halych 358
 Attaleiates Manuel 264
 Bachrames / Brachames / Bachramios / Brachamios, family name 143
 Bagrat 154
 Basil II, emperor 37, 43, 75
 Basil, metropolitan of Kerkyra (Corfu) 108
 Basilakes, family name 137
 Basilakios (?) Konstantinos 136
 Basilakios / Basilakes Nikephoros 137
 Basileios II Kamateros, patriarch 325
 Basileios Spondyles, protospatharios 159
 Basileios, abbot 325
 Basileios, patrikios, imperial protospatharios and genikos logothetes 70
 Batu, Mongol commander 329
 Beridares Leon 140
 Bogas / Boges 164
 Borys Viacheslavych, kniaz’ 229, 256, 270
 Borys Volodymyrovych, kniaz’, St., 229, 293, 300, 302, 380
 Bouges 164
 Boulukopoulos (or Koulikopoulos?) Gregorios 142
 Brachames Theodoros 143
 Brachamios Philaretos 83, 143
 Briachyslav Izyaslavovich, kniaz’ 212
 Bryennios Nikephoros 86
 Casimir, the duke of Poland 272
 Chalkites, family name 76
 Chalkites Gregorios, chartoularios 76
 Chalkites (?) Ioannes, mandator 186
 Chalkites, family name 186
 Charabiotos (?) Joseph, protospatharios and strategos 101
 Chliarenos Konstantinos 144
 Christophoros, (bishop) of Beroe 113
 Chrysoberges Eustratios, patrikios, krites of the belon and of the hippodrome and chartoularios of the arkla of Opsikion 94–95
 Chrysoberges Theodosios, patriarch of Antiocheia 95
 Chrysoberges, family name 95
 Cnut the Great, king 212–213
 Dalassene Anna, wife of Ioannes Komnenos 43
 Danylo Romanovich, kniaz’, king of Rus’ 329, 332
 Davyd Ihorovich, kniaz’ 257, 262–263, 267, 371
 Davyd Rostyslavych, kniaz’ 263, 266–267
 Davyd Sviatoslavych 99, 263
 Demetrios Kazanes, magistros 44
 Demetrios (?), imperial protospatharios or imperial spatharios (?) and epi tou manglabiou 34
 Demetrios, bishop of Belgrade 349
 Dermokaites Ioannes, strategos 96
 Dionysios, bishop of Polotsk 366–367
 Dobronega 232, 272
 Dorotheos, bishop of Halych 358
 Doukas Andronikos 83
 Eirene Doukaina, empress 122
 Ephraim, metropolitan of Kyiv 296, 342–343
 Ephrem, bishop of Halych 358
 Eudokia Komnene, wife of Theodoros Stypeiotes 73
 Euphemianos (?), imperial protospatharios or imperial spatharios (?) and epi tou manglabiou 34

- Eustathios, metropolitan of Myra and Thessaloniki 324
 Eustathios, protoproedros 280, 282, 343
 Eustratios Chrysoberges, patrikios, krites of the belon and of the hippodrome and chartoularios of the arkla of Opsikion 94–95
 Evfrosyniia of Polotsk (St. Euphrosyne) 367
 Feopen't / Theopemptos, metropolitan of Kyiv 295
 Gabriel, archbishop of Novgorod 325
 Gabriel, imperial protospatharios 187
 Georgios 179, 188, 265, 386
 Georgios Gialites 145
 Georgios Mouzalon 276
 Georgios, metropolitan of Kyiv and synkellos 296–297, 340
 Germanus III, patriarch 328
 Gerontios, bishop of Halych 358
 Gertrude, the wife of prince Iziaroslav Yaroslavych 272
 Gialites Georgios 145
 Gregorios Boulidikopoulos (or Koulikopoulos?) 142
 Gregorios Chalkites, chartoularios 76
 Gregorios II, patriarch 328
 Gregorios, abbot 123
 Gregorios, episkopos of Nazianzos 109
 Gregorios, metropolitan of Nazianzos 109
 Gregorios, notarios 284–285
 Gregorios, papias 117
 Gregory of Nazianz 375, 379
 Guriata Semkovych, boyar 33
 Gyđa Haroldsdottir 232, 241
 Hagiotheodorites Ioannes 73
 Harāba, arabic name 101
 Harold Godwinsson 232, 241
 Haroldsdottir Gyđa 232, 241
 Helene, sebastē 62
 Hikanatoi, family name 149
 Hikanatos Ioannes or Andreas 148
 Hlib Volodymyrovych, kniaz', St., 229, 293, 300, 302, 380
 Hlib Yuriiovych, kniaz' 325
 Ignatios, bishop of Halych 358
 Ihor Yaroslavych, kniaz' 242, 262, 371
 Illia, archbishop of Novgorod 315
 Ingigerd-Irene, wife of Yaroslav Volodymyrovych 229
 Ioakim, bishop of Turov 306
 Ioann, bishop of Chernihiv / Brians'k 351
 Ioannes (Andreas?) Hikanatos 148
 Ioannes 166
 Ioannes Chalkites(?), mandator 186
 Ioannes Dermokaites, strategos 96
 Ioannes Hagiotheodorites 73
 Ioannes I Tzimiskes, emperor 337
 Ioannes I, metropolitan of Kyiv 292–293
 Ioannes II, metropolitan of Kyiv 315
 Ioannes III ("the Eunuch"), metropolitan of Kyiv 293, 315
 Ioannes IV, metropolitan of Kyiv 33, 292–293, 314, 315
 Ioannes Komnenos, kouropalates 43
 Ioannes Phagas, military commander in Italy 87
 Ioannes Tzetzes 62
 Ioannes Xiphilinos, patriarch 101, 296
 Ioannes (?) Spanopoulos, proedros 58
 Ioannes (?), bishop of Novgorod 360–361
 Ioannes, bishop of Halych 358
 Ioannes, bishop of Settai 114
 Ioannes, ek prosopou of Konstantinos, praetor of the domestikos of the Anatole 82, 83
 Ioannes, hieromonachos 351
 Ioannes, metropolitan of Side 342
 Ioannes, patrikios bestes 50
 Ioannes, proedros 60
 Ioannes, spatharokandidatos and asekretis 68
 Ioannes, spatharokandidatos, asekretis and judge of Boleron, Strymon and Thessaloniki 68
 Ionas / Jona, bishop of Halych 356, 358
 Ioseph, metropolitan of Kyiv 328
 Isaakios Komnenos, domestikos 83
 Isidoros (Glabas) of Thessaloniki 324
 Ivan Rostyslavych "Berladnyk", kniaz' 311
 Iziaroslav Mstyslavych, kniaz' 306, 311, 365
 Iziaroslav Volodymyrovych, kniaz' 257
 Iziaroslav Yaroslavych, kniaz' 229, 256, 270, 272, 340
 Jacob Anund 213
 John Spanopoulos, proedros 59
 Joseph Charabiotes(?), protospatharios and strategos 101
 Joseph, magistros and protostrator 38
 Joseph, sebastos 39
 Justinian I, emperor 87
 Kalophoros, metropolitan of Smyrna 152
 Kalophoros Niketas 152
 Karases(?) Pekapetros(?) 189
 Kazanes Demetrios, magistros 44
 Kazanes, family name 44
 Keramas / Kerameas / Kerameres / Kerameus, family name 153
 Kerames Konstantinos 153
 Klemes, monk 118
 Klym Smoliatych, metropolitan of Kyiv 306, 311, 315, 365
 Komnene Eudokia, wife of Theodoros Stypeiotes 73
 Komnenos Ioannes, kouropalates 43
 Komnenos Isaakios, domestikos 83
 Komnenos, imperial family 193
 Konstantinos 168–169
 Konstantinos Alakasseus 132–133
 Konstantinos Basilakios (?) 136
 Konstantinos Chliarenos 144
 Konstantinos I, metropolitan of Kyiv 306, 310, 315–316, 353, 365, 368
 Konstantinos II, metropolitan of Kyiv 316–317, 319
 Konstantinos IV, patriarch of Constantinople 144
 Konstantinos VIII, emperor 37
 Konstantinos IX Monomachos, emperor 26, 38, 206, 229

Konstantinos Kerames 153
 Konstantinos Korones, magistros 46
 Konstantinos (?), patrikios praispositos and droungarios of the ploimon 84
 Konstantinos, bishop of Korone 46
 Konstantinos, brother of Michael IV 85
 Konstantinos, nephew of the patriarch Michael Kerullarios 62
 Kontoleon (?) 167
 Korones Konstantinos, magistros 46
 Kosmas Hierosolymites, patriarch 311
 Kosmas, (bishop) of Halych 354–356, 358
 Kosmas, bishop of Polotsk 306, 367
 Kostiantyn Volodymyrovych, kniaz' 242
 Kotertzes Michael, proedros 56
 Kotertzes, family name 56
 Koulikopoulos (?) Gregorios 142
 Kubrat, khan 178
 Kyriakos, dishypatos 40
 Kyrianna, daughter of Viacheslav Sviatoslavych 367
 Kyrillos / Kyrylo I, metropolitan of Kyiv 332
 Kyrillos II, archbishop of the metropolis of Kyiv 329–330, 337
 Leon Beridares 140
 Leon Petzementes, primikerios 52
 Leon Spileotes, monk 381
 Leon Tatikes, protonobellisimos(?) 194
 Leon, imperial protospatharios and protonotarios (?) 69
 Leon, ostiarios 48
 Leontios, bishop of Rostov 296, 368–369
 Loukas Chrysoberges, patriarch 95, 367, 369
 Loukas, monk and bishop (of Bilhorod?) 344–345
 Loukas, protospatharios 61
 Lukas, apostle 123
 Lukas, bishop of Rostov-Suzdal' 325
 Maksym / Maximos, bishop of Bilhorod 349
 Manuel Attaleiates 264
 Manuel I Komnenos, emperor 32, 43, 72, 369
 Manuel ὁ τοῦ ἄρχοντος 264
 Manuel, bishop of Smolensk 306, 356, 365
 Maria (Dobronega), kniahynia 232, 272
 Markos, candidate for the bishopric of Pereiaslav 302
 Matthaios, metropolitan of Kyiv 325
 Maximos, (bishop) of Brians'k 350
 Maximos, metropolitan of Kyiv and hypertimos 337–339
 Meletios, bishop of Halych 358
 Methodios II, patriarch 328
 Michael 172
 Michael I, metropolitan of Kyiv 365
 Michael II, (metropolitan) of Kyiv 304–306, 319
 Michael III, metropolitan of Kyiv 317–318
 Michael IV, emperor 85125
 Michael Kerullarios, patriarch 62
 Michael Kotertzes, proedros 56

Michael Spanopoulos 59
 Michael VII Dukas, emperor 86
 Michael VIII Palaiologos, emperor 112, 337
 Michael, anthypatos patrikios imperial protospatharios and sakellarios 75
 Michael, bishop of Iuriev 340
 Michael, imperial protospatharios and strategos of Kephallenia 92
 Michael, monk and bishop (of Yur'iv?) 370
 Michael, protospatharios and sakellarios 74
 Michael, protospatharios ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος and imperial sakellarios 75
 Michael, protospatharios(?) and strategos 192
 Monomach, family name 232
 Monomachaina, relative of Constantine 27, 206, 232
 Mouzalon Georgios 276
 Mouzalones, family name 276–277
 Mouzalonissa Theophanou, archontissa Rusias 276–277
 Mpougas / Mpouges / Mpouges 164
 Mstyslav Davydovych, kniaz' 325
 Mstyslav Iziaslavych, kniaz' 207, 211, 240, 311
 Mstyslav Sviatopolkovich, kniaz' 263
 Mstyslav Volodymyrovych, kniaz', megas archon 212–213, 240–242
 Mstyslav Vsevolodovich, kniaz' 240
 Mstyslav Yuriovich, kniaz' 365, 368–369
 Mstyslav-Feodor-Harald Volodymyrovych 232, 241, 257, 282
 Natanail / Nathanael, bishop of Chernihiv / Brians'k 351
 Neophytos, metropolitan of New Rusia 340
 Nester / Nestor, bishop of Rostov 368
 Nikephoros Alanos 249
 Nikephoros Basilakios/Basilakes 137
 Nikephoros Bryennios 86
 Nikephoros I, metropolitan of Kyiv 300, 302
 Nikephoros II, metropolitan of Kyiv 320–325, 369
 Nikephoros III, metropolitan of Kyiv 336–337
 Nikephoros II Phokas, emperor 337
 Nikephoros III Botaneiates, emperor 28
 Nikephoros, abbot 123
 Nikephoros, metropolitan of Nazianzos 109
 Nikephoros, patrikios, praispositos, vestarches and protobestiarios 36
 Niketas 173
 Niketas Kalophoros 152
 Niketas Tzanzes 162
 Niketas, bishop (metropolitan) of Kyiv 300, 306
 Niketas, bishop of Beloozero 340
 Niketas, bishop of Bilhorod 345, 349
 Niketas, hypatos 42
 Niketas, metropolitan of Nazianzos 109
 Nikolaos / Nikola, bishop in Rostov 325, 369
 Nikolaos Pios (?), spatharokandidatos 64
 Nikolaos Zounaras, krites of Thrace and Macedonia 31, 48, 99–100, 137

Nikolaos (?) 180
 Nikolaos, bishop of Bilhorod 348–349
 Nikolaos, bishop of Polotsk 367
 Nikolaos, patrikios 162
 Niphon, bishop of Halych 358
 Niphon, bishop of Novgorod 306, 356, 364
 Oleh Sviatoslavych, kniaz' 31, 99, 229, 248–249, 252–253, 256–257, 262, 270, 276–277, 288
 Olha, daughter of Viacheslav Sviatoslavych 367
 Olha, kniahynia 337
 Olhovychy, family name 306
 Olof Skötkonung, king 229
 Onouphrios / Onufriy, bishop of Chernihiv 306, 353
 Pagomenos (?) Pankratios 154
 Pankratios Pagomenos (?) 154
 Pekapetros (?) Karases (?) 189
 Peter, bishop of Pereiaslavl 340
 Petros, kouboukleisios and hegoumenos of the monastery of Angourios(?) 116
 Petzementes Leon, primikerios 52
 Petzementes, family name 53
 Phagas Ioannes, military commander in Italy 87
 Phagas Symeon, protospatharios and topoteretes 86
 Phagas, family name 87
 Phardos (?) Theodoros 155
 Philanthropenos Athanasios 128
 Philaretos Brachamios 83, 143
 Philemon, father of Gregorios Papias 117
 Philemona, hegoumene 117
 Poyeuktos, patriarch 337
 Polykarpos, abbot 317
 Pougas 164
 Prochoros, abbot 380
 Ratybor, boiaryn 256
 Riuryk Rostyslavych, kniaz' 325
 Rognida, kniahynia of Polotsk 212
 Roman Mstyslavych, kniaz' 325
 Roman Rostyslavych, kniaz' 267, 315, 319
 Romanos IV Diogenes, emperor 109
 Romanos Skleros, magistros and protostrator 38
 Rostyslav Mstyslavych, kniaz' 32–33, 311, 315, 369
 Rostyslav Volodymyrovych, kniaz' 207, 211
 Rostyslav Vsevolodovych, kniaz' 229
 Rostyslav Yuriiovych, kniaz' 368
 Semkovych Guriata, boyar 33
 Sergios (?) 193
 Sergios, archbishop (patriarch) of Constantinople, the New Rome 106–107
 Sevlot 270
 Skleros Romanos, magistros and protostrator 38
 Sophronios, hegumen 340
 Spanopoulos Ioannes(?), proedros 58–59
 Spanopoulos Michael 59
 Spileotes Leon, monk 381
 Spondyles Basileios, protospatharios 159
 Spondyles, family name 158, 356
 Stephanos 175
 Stypeiotes Theodoros, protonobellisimos and megas sakellarios 72
 Sviatopolk Iziaslavych, kniaz' 240, 257, 263, 288, 380
 Sviatopolk Yaropolkovych, kniaz' 212
 Sviatoslav Olhovych, kniaz' 353
 Sviatoslav Vsevolodovych, kniaz' 325, 353, 365
 Sviatoslav Yaroslavych, kniaz' 229, 277
 Symeon Neos Theologos, abbot 128–129
 Symeon Phagas, protospatharios and topoteretes 86
 Symeon, bishop of Aulon 112
 Symeon, bishop of Volodymyr 302
 Tarchaneiotes Alexios(?), proedros and doux 100
 Tarchaneiotes Alexios, sebastos 100
 Tarchaneiotes, family name 100
 Tatikes / Tatikios, family name 194
 Tatikes Leon, protonobellisimos(?) 194
 Teodor / Theodoros, bishop of Bilhorod 349
 Theodoret's, bishop of Rostov, Vladymyr and Suzdal 315–316, 319, 368
 Theodoros 195
 Theodoros Brachames 143
 Theodoros II Laskaris, emperor 276
 Theodoros Phardos(?) 155
 Theodoros Stypeiotes, protonobellisimos and megas sakellarios 72
 Theodoros, metropolitan of Kyiv 369
 Theodoros, monachos (?) 119
 Theodoros, synkellos 155
 Theodoros / Teodor, metropolitan of Kyiv 315
 Theodosios Chrysoberges, patriarch of Antiocheia 95
 Theodosios, hegumen of the Kyivan Cave Monastery 340
 Theoktistos, bishop of Chernihiv 380
 Theopemptos, metropolitan of Kyiv 292–295
 Theophanou Mouzalonissa, archontissa 276–277
 Theophylaktos, imperial protospatharios and strategos of Nikopolis 92–93
 Theophylaktos, imperial protospatharios and strategos of Seleukeia 92
 Theopomt 295
 Thomas, monk and bishop (of Volodymyr in Volhynia) 371
 Timotheos, apostle 123
 Tzantzes / Tzanzes, family name 162
 Tzanzes Niketas 162
 Tzetzes Ioannes 62
 Vahram, armenian name 143
 Vasyl'ko Rostyslavych, kniaz' 263
 Vasyl'ko Yuriiovych, kniaz' 368–369
 Viacheslav Sviatoslavych, kniaz' 367
 Viacheslav-Merkourios Yaroslavych, kniaz' 246
 Volodar Rostyslavych, kniaz' 159, 257, 263
 Volodymyr Sviatoslavych, kniaz' 27, 212, 241, 272, 295, 337, 349

Volodymyr Vsevolodovych Monomach, kniaz' 206, 229,
232–234, 238–239, 256–257, 272, 302, 306
Vseslav Bryachyslavych, kniaz' 229
Vsevolod Mstyslavych, kniaz' 306
Vsevolod Olhovych, kniaz' 306, 365
Vsevolod Yaroslavych, kniaz' 27, 218, 206, 229, 232, 256,
262, 270–271, 340, 371
Vsevolod Yuriiovych, kniaz' 325
Vysheslav Volodymyrovych, kniaz' 212
Yakob, bishop of Vladimir 339
Yaropolk Iziaslavych, kniaz', king of Rus' 262, 371

Yaropolk Volodymyrovych, kniaz' 306
Yaroslav Volodymyrovych "Osmomysl", kniaz' 33, 311, 386
Yaroslav-Georgios Volodymyrovych, kniaz', megas archon
of Rus' 206, 212–213, 229, 241, 246, 262, 265, 293
Yurii Volodymyrovych "Dovhorukii", kniaz' 306, 311
Zanzes, family name 162
Zavid, posadnyk of Novgorod 282, 343
Zosimas, bishop of Halych 358
Zounaras Nikolaos, krites of Thrace and Macedonia 31,
48, 99–100, 137
Καλιγάρην, family name 152

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

- Akkerman, city 349
 Albania, country 112
 Anatolia, region 90, 92
 Andrushivka district 52, 124, 239, 328, 352
 Antiocheia, city 85
 Antoniv, village 145
 Antonovychi, village 86
 Armenian 83
 Ascalon, city 369
 Asprokastron, city 349
 Atel 249
 Athens, city 112
 Aulon, city 112
 Avdiivka, village 380
 Bakchmach district 38
 Balkan peninsula 87
 Bar, village 358
 Bel'kivtsi, village 239
 Belarus, country 97, 113, 281, 239
 Belgrade (Serbian) 349
 Belgradkapı 128
 Beloozero (Belozersk), city 40, 281, 239, 229, 292
 Belz, city 212
 Berestie, city 212
 Berezdov, village 239
 Berezhne, village 265, 344
 Beroe 113
 Beşiktaş 129
 Bil'kivtsi, village 239, 280
 Bila Tserkva district 132, 224, 364
 Bila Tserkva, city 224, 370
 Bilhorod, city 129, 241, 325, 344–349
 Biliv, village 152
 Bilohorodka, village 128, 162, 239–240, 281, 302, 348
 Bilovezhi Druhi, village 254
 Bilozerka district 280
 Blachernai 125
 Bobrovytsya district 92
 Borodianka district 225
 Borodianka, city 225
 Boryspil district 97, 100, 168, 272, 276, 292, 380
 Boryspil', city 168, 272, 276
 Borzna district 219, 254, 342
 Borzna, city 342
 Bosphorus 116
 Brians'k, city 339, 349–350
 Briansk oblast' 254, 256
 Brody district 56, 158
 Brovary district 43, 154, 169, 234, 239
 Brusyliv district 52, 166, 239, 264, 305
 Brusyliv, city 166
 Budo-Koshelevski district 113
 Buky 149
 Bulgaria 113
 Buryń' district 352
 Buzhsk 263
 Buzok, tract 132
 Bykov 239
 Cappadocia 109
 Chalke, island 76
 Chalkidike 87
 Cherkasy district 98
 Cherkasy oblast' 98, 179, 228, 272
 Chernihiv district 28, 44, 86, 117, 136, 159, 189, 206, 210, 228, 271, 296
 Chernihiv oblast' 28, 30, 38, 40, 42, 44, 48, 61, 70, 84, 86, 92, 94, 97–98, 101, 109, 117–118, 136, 152, 159, 164, 167, 172, 188–189, 193, 206, 207, 210, 213, 218–219, 228, 233, 238, 240, 243, 248, 252–254, 271, 296, 310, 330–331, 340–341, 352, 355, 360, 366, 375, 378, 380
 Chernihiv, city 30, 31, 42, 87, 99, 109, 136, 137, 206, 210, 212, 229, 239, 241, 256–257, 263, 270, 277, 281, 288, 307, 311, 341, 350–351, 353, 356, 380
 Chernivtsi oblast' 112
 Chernivtsi, city 112
 Cherson 145, 330, 336
 Chertoryisk 263
 Cherven 263
 Chudniv district 305
 Chudniv, village 305
 Constantinople 33, 76, 106, 112, 123, 128–129, 206, 249, 256, 277, 295, 318–319, 337, 356, 369, 379
 Crimea, Autonomous Republic 239, 249, 258, 330, 336
 Danube 369
 Danube, region 239
 Darnytsia, district of Kyiv city 82
 Demydiv, village 235
 Dereva, land 264
 Derkachivka, village 46
 Desna, river 270, 350
 Dnipro, river 113, 212, 270
 Dnipropetrovs'k oblast' 248
 Dolmabahçe 129
 Don, river 249
 Dorohobuzh, village 243, 262–263, 311

Drutsk 367
 Duben 263
 Dubno district 175
 Dunaivtsi district 354
 Dymer, town 52
 Dyrrachion, thema 92, 112
 Erziv, village 84
 Euboia 112
 Euripos 112
 Eyüp 125
 Ezuch, river 344, 265
 Falenychi, village 310
 Fastiv district 68, 258, 350
 Fastovets', village 38
 Gavrylo-Posad 239
 Gnylusha 270
 Gotthia 145
 Greece 92
 Grodno oblast' 281
 Halych district 46, 311, 354–355, 374
 Halych, city 316, 325, 354, 356, 358, 374
 Hlukhiv district 96
 Hlukhiv, city 96
 Hlyboke, village 97
 Holovky, village 304
 Homel' oblast' 113
 Horodets' 213–212, 270
 Horodetska, village 354
 Horodnia district 207, 375
 Horodnia, village 117
 Horodok district 358
 Horodok, village 297
 Horods'ke, village 198, 228, 239
 Horodyshe, village 132, 158, 239, 310, 330
 Horokhiv district 310
 Hoshcha district 243
 Hrubs'ke, village 304, 318, 321
 Hrushvysia Druha, village 148–149, 258
 Hushsentsi, village 331
 Husiatyn district 358
 Ichnia district 238
 Ihorivka, village 352
 Illyria (Epirus) 112
 Irsha, river 304
 Isliamterets'kyi district 330
 Italy, country 96
 Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast' 46, 311, 314, 316, 354–355, 374
 Ivanovo oblast' 239
 Jalta, city 145
 Jerusalem, city 367
 Kaharlyk district 310
 Kaharlyk, city 310
 Kaisareia 128
 Kaluga oblast' 211
 Kalynivka district 331
 Kalynivka, village 330
 Kamianets'-Podil's'k district 60
 Kaniv district 272
 Kappadokia 128
 Karantinaia Bay 336
 Karpylivka, village 194
 Katuzhanka, village 52
 Kephallenia, thema 92
 Kerch, city 239, 277
 Kerkira (Corfu) 108
 Khazaria 249
 Kherson, city 249
 Kherson oblast' 280
 Khmel'nyts'k oblast' 60, 239, 354
 Kibyrriaton 90
 Kirov (Isliamterets'k) district 330
 Komariv, village 155
 Konotop district 265, 344
 Korets' district 330
 Korolivka, village 136
 Korosten' district 134
 Korostyshiv district 198, 228, 239, 258, 280, 304, 318, 321, 323–324
 Korsun'-Shevchenkiv district 228
 Kostovtsi, village 52
 Kovchyn, village 233
 Kozelets' district 84
 Krylos, village 46, 311, 354–355, 374
 Kulykivka district 233, 330
 Kursk 254
 Kvitneve (Zhovtneve), village 316, 368
 Kyiv oblast' 26, 34, 36, 43, 48, 52, 58, 62, 68, 74, 80, 97, 100, 122–123, 128, 132, 137, 140, 142, 145, 149, 154, 162, 168–169, 173, 180–181, 187, 195, 199, 210–212, 218–219, 224, 232, 234–235, 238–240, 258, 260, 270, 272, 281, 285, 288, 292, 294, 297, 300, 302, 304, 310, 322, 348, 350, 360, 364, 370, 380, 386
 Kyiv, city 27, 32, 58, 61, 90, 106, 129, 153, 192, 206, 211–213, 229, 232, 239, 241–242, 253, 256, 263, 265, 267, 270, 272, 277, 281, 285, 293, 295, 300, 307, 311, 314–316, 319, 325, 329, 332, 337, 339–343, 349, 365, 369–370, 375, 380–381
 Kyiv-Sviatoshyn district 36, 122, 128, 142, 162, 239, 270, 285, 300, 302, 348, 381
 Kyrdany, village 210
 Latros 332
 Levashivka, village 207
 Liubech, city 99, 263, 277
 Liudvynivka, village 225
 Lubar district 72
 Lublin, voivodeship 258, 262, 267
 Lubny district 194
 Lubyk district 118
 Luts'k district 242, 297, 371

Luts'k, city 263, 338
 Lviv oblast' 40, 56, 94, 108, 158, 266, 239, 310, 378
 Lviv, city 354
 Lydia 114
 Lypyny, village 371
 Lystvyn 212
 Macedonia, thema 98–99, 192
 Makariv district 58, 225, 260, 297, 304, 322, 348, 380
 Makariv, city 348
 Malyn district 304
 Mamekyne, village 193, 240
 Mantzikert 83
 Matracha 249, 253, 256, 263, 277, 285
 Mena district 40, 94, 97, 207, 240, 310, 352
 Mena, city 94, 310
 Menka, river 239
 Messenia 46
 Minsk district 366
 Minsk oblast' 239
 Minsk, city 367
 Mlyniv district 149, 159, 374
 Mlyniv, city 374
 Mogutovo, village 281
 Mokissos, metropolis 109
 Moscow, city 256, 366
 Moshchne, village 207
 Murom district 229
 Murom, city 257
 Mykhailo-Kotsubyns'ke, village 117
 Myra 320–322, 325
 Nadchitsy, village 159
 Nazianzos 109
 Nedryhailiv district 46
 Nehrashi, village 36, 142, 285, 381
 Nemiga, river 229
 New Rusia (Chernihiv) 340–341
 Nezhatyna Nyva 229, 270
 Nikaia 329, 332
 Nikopolis 92–93
 Nikopolis, thema 192
 Nosivka, village 318
 Novaky, village 134
 Novgorod 92, 212–213, 234, 238–239, 241, 281–282, 307, 311, 315, 356, 360–361, 364–366, 368–369, 375
 Novhorod-Sivers'kyi district 48, 193, 240
 Novhorod-Sivers'kyi, city 48, 99, 252, 256–257, 277
 Novomoskovs'k district 248
 Novomoskovs'k, city 248
 Novosilky, village 239, 380
 Obukhiv district 140, 173, 195, 210–211, 239, 288, 360, 348
 Obukhiv, city 173, 348
 Ol'shana, village 238
 Olshanytsia, village 219
 Opsikion 94
 Ovruch district 50
 Palestine 369
 Pashkivka, village 304, 322
 Peloponnesos 73, 96, 381
 Pereiaslav, city 218, 229, 239, 270, 332, 339–341, 343, 360
 Pereiaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyi district 137, 149, 239, 360
 Peremyshl, city 263
 Peremyshlyany district 94
 Peremyshlyany, city 94
 Peresopnytsia, village 40, 296, 358
 Pidhaitsi district 114
 Pidhirtsi, village 56, 158
 Pidpechery, village 314
 Pidstavky, village 179
 Poland, country 258, 262–263, 267
 Polotsk, city 212, 229, 307, 311, 366–367
 Poltava oblast' 178, 194, 342
 Popil'nia district 316, 368
 Pskov, city 281
 Pustomyty district 108, 158, 239, 266, 378
 Putyvl' district 352
 Putyvl', city 352
 Pylypivka, village 300
 Radosyn, river 270
 Radyvyliv district 149
 Radyvyliv, city 149
 Rakivka, river 358
 Rhodes 256, 277
 Riazan', city 257, 350
 Ripky district 40, 340–341, 380
 Riurikovo Gorodishche 92, 239
 Rivne district 40, 148–149, 152, 258, 296
 Rivne oblast' 40, 44, 148–149, 152, 159, 175, 258, 296, 311, 330, 374
 Rivne, city 44, 148
 Rohozyn, village 100
 Roishche, village 228
 Rokytne district 34, 80, 219
 Rome, city 106, 379
 Romny district 381
 Ros', river 370
 Rostov, city 212, 239, 257, 296, 315, 319, 325, 339, 368–369
 Royishe, village 271
 Rsha (Orshitsa), river 229
 Rudunka 270
 Rusaniv, village 169, 239
 Ruzhyn district 374
 Sarai 339
 Sardeis 114
 Sasiadka, village 258, 262, 267
 Satyiv, village 175
 Sedniv, town 44
 Seleukeia 92

Settai 114
 Sevastopol', ukrainian city 297, 330, 336, 345, 354
 Sharky, village 80
 Shcherbanivka, village 211
 Shepetivka district 239
 Shestovytsia, village 28
 Shums'k district 153, 158
 Shums'k, city 153, 158, 239
 Sicily 154
 Sigtuna 213
 Skochyshe, village 305
 Skvyra district 145, 149
 Slavutsk district 239
 Slobidka, village 323, 358
 Smiach, village 193, 240
 Smolensk, city 46, 229, 239–240, 242, 246, 257, 267, 307, 311, 356, 365
 Snovianka, village 189
 Sokal' district 266
 Sokil, village 60
 Soloviivka, village 239, 264
 Sosnitsia district 380
 Sozh, river 113
 St.Petersburg, city 40
 Stanishivka, village 320
 Stanislav, village 280
 Stara Zagora, city 113
 Staraia Ladoga, city 239, 281
 Stari Bezradychi, village 195, 210, 360
 Starodub, city 257
 Starye Kotlitsy, village 229
 Staryi Krym, city 330
 Stepok, village 328
 Stryzhivka, village 239
 Stupnitsa, village 242
 Sudak, ukrainian city 132
 Sumy oblast' 46, 96, 172, 239, 256, 265, 342, 344, 352, 381
 Sutiis'k 263
 Suzdal, city 315, 319, 325, 339, 368–369
 Sweden 212
 Syberezkh, village 340–341, 380
 Syvolozh, village 219
 Tarashcha district 26, 210
 Tarashcha, city 26
 Teofipol' district 239
 Terebovl', city 263
 Ternopil' oblast' 114, 132, 137, 143, 148, 153, 158, 280, 310, 358
 Thrace 98–99
 Tmutorokan 212, 241, 249, 252, 256–257, 277
 Tomashivka, village 350
 Torchesk 80
 Trakhtemyriv 272
 Trapezunt 101
 Trubizh, river 169
 Tupychiv, village 375
 Turov, city 307, 325
 Turovets', village 302
 Tver, city 339
 Tver' oblast' 281
 Tysmenytsia district 314
 Ukrainka, city 304
 Uvetych 263
 Vasyl'kiv district 294
 Velikij Novgorod, city 40, 58
 Velyki Derevychi, village 72
 Velyki Huliaky, village 258
 Verbychi, village 40
 Veremiivka, village 98
 Vetkov district 113
 Vinnytsia district 155
 Vinnytsia oblast' 155, 331
 Vitebsk oblast' 366
 Vitebsk, city 367
 Vladimir oblast' 152
 Vladimir, region 229
 Vladymyr, city 315, 339
 Vlorë 112
 Volhynia, land 212, 240, 262, 267, 371
 Volkovysk, city 281
 Volodymyr, city 119, 238, 258, 262–263, 285, 371
 Volodymyr district 119, 285, 310, 318
 Volyn' oblast' 119, 239, 242, 258, 267, 285, 297, 310, 318, 338, 371
 Volyn'sia, village 239
 Voron'kiv, village 292
 Vorotynsk district 211
 Vorotynsk, village 211
 Vovchiv, village 137
 Vydobych, place in Kyiv 229
 Vyhurivshchyna, village 270
 Vyhurychi, village 242
 Vyshhorod district 52, 235, 239
 Vyshhorod, city 239, 340, 380
 Vytachiv, village 281
 Xylokerkos 128
 Yablunivka, village 228
 Yalysivka, village 304
 Yaropovychi, village 52, 124, 352
 Yaroslav oblast' 239
 Yasnohorodka, village 260, 297
 Yur'iv, city 370
 Zahaitsi, village 114
 Zaitsi, village 296
 Zalishchyky district 136
 Zboriv district 132, 158, 310
 Zelenyi Hai, village 256
 Zhvyrka, village 266
 Zhytomyr district 302, 320

Zhytomyr oblast' 50, 52, 64, 72, 117, 124, 134, 144, 166,
198, 228, 239, 258, 264, 266, 280, 300, 302, 304, 311,
316, 320–321, 323–324, 328, 344, 352, 368, 374, 380

Zolotonosha district 179
Zvenyhorod, village 108, 158–159, 239, 266, 311, 356, 378
Zviahel' district 300, 302

TITLES

Abbesses 116
 Abbot 107, 116, 122–123, 128–129, 317, 325, 339, 351, 380–381
 Akolouthos 80
 Apo eparchon (?) 178
Archbishop of:
 Beroe 113
 Matracha 285
 Novgorod 315, 325
 Rosia 332
 Archbishop (title) 108–109, 113, 285, 330
 Archon (title) 207, 213, 232, 238, 240, 248, 252, 277
Archon of:
 Rus' 206, 246, 252, 258, 260–263, 266–267, 271
 Matracha 249, 253
 man of the Archon 264
 Archontissa (title) 272
 Archontissa of Rus' 276
 Asekretis 68
 Autocrator 27
 Basileus 27–29
 Bestarches 37, 85, 249
Bishop of:
 Asprokastron / Akkerman 349
 Atel 249
 Aulon 112
 Beloozero 340
 Beroe 113
 Bilhorod 302, 344–345, 348–349
 Brians'k 350–351
 Chernihiv 306, 311, 340, 343, 350–353, 356, 380
 Halych 354–356
 Korone 46
 Matracha 285
 Novgorod 306, 311, 315, 325, 356, 361, 364–365
 Pereiaslav 302, 340, 343
 Polotsk 307, 311, 366–367
 Promissos 324
 Promyra 324
 Proine 324
 Rosia 302
 Rostov 296, 315, 317, 319, 325, 339, 368–369
 Settai 114
 Smolensk 306, 311, 315, 356, 365
 Suzdal' 315, 317, 319, 325
 Turov 306, 311
 Tver 339
 Vladymyr na Kliazma 315, 339

Volodymyr 302, 371
 Yur'iv 370
 Boyar 87
 Chartoularios 76, 94–95, 186
 Despotes 29, 30, 32
 Dishypatos 40–41
Domestikos of:
 Scholae of Anatole 82, 85
 the East 143
 Scholae of the Orient 83
 Doux 100
 Doux of Antiocheia 85
 Doux of Matracha 248
 Droungarios of the Ploimon 84
 Duke of Poland 272
 Emperor 26–28, 30, 32, 33, 99, 167, 206, 229, 240, 243, 249, 277, 282, 337, 356, 369
 Eunuch 37, 48, 53, 75, 85, 315
 Genikos logothetes 70–71
 Hegoumenos 116, 369, 380
 Hegoumene 117
 Hypatos 41–42, 101
 Hypertimos 321–323, 338–339
 Imperial protospatharios 34, 69–70, 80, 92–93, 96, 187
 Imperial spatharios 34–35
 Katepano 113
 Khan of the Golden Horde 339
 khan Polovtsian 257
 Kniahynia 212
Kniaz' of:
 Chernihiv 241, 263, 277, 341, 353
 Halych 311
 Kyiv 27, 32, 206, 129, 232, 240, 241, 263, 270, 277, 325, 349
 Novgorod 241, 325
 Pereiaslav 270, 339
 Polotsk 212, 229
 Rus' 213, 233, 234, 265, 386
 Smolensk 240, 246, 267
 Suzdal' 325
 Tmutorokan 212, 256, 277
 Turov 325
 Volhynia 240, 242, 262, 267
 Kniaz' (title) 27, 32, 33, 129, 212, 229, 233–234, 240, 242, 246, 256–257, 264, 267, 270, 282, 285, 288, 307, 311, 315, 317, 325, 329, 339, 341, 353, 365, 367–369, 371, 380, 386
 Kommerkion ton Ros 97

Kouboukleisios 116
 Kouropalates 43
 Krites of the belon and of the hippodrome 94
 Krites of Thrace and Macedonia 98
 Magistros 38–39, 44, 46, 71
 Mandator 186
 Manglabites 34–35
 Megas oikonomos ton euagon 37
Metropolitan of:
 Cappadocia 109
 Cherson 145
 Gotthia 145
 Kerkyra 108
 Lydia 114
 Nazianzos 109
 New Rusia (Chernihiv) 340–341
 Rosia (Pereiaslav?) 342–343
 Rus' (Kyiv) 33, 292–297, 300, 302, 304, 306, 311, 314–321, 324–325, 328–330, 332, 336–343, 349, 351, 353, 365, 369–370, 380
 Side 342
 Smyrna 152
 Ρούσιον ἢ Πρεσθλάβα 343
 Metropolitan (title) 282, 293, 297, 311, 320–322, 325, 339, 342, 345, 351, 353, 358, 365, 368–369, 379
 Monk 37, 118, 332, 295, 340, 342, 344–345, 365, 370–371, 380–381
 Notarios 186, 284–285
 Nun 271–272
 Ostiarios 48
 Papias 75, 117
Patriarch of:
 Antiocheia 95
 Constantinople 62, 95, 101, 106–107, 144, 296, 306, 325, 328, 336–337, 339, 342–343, 365, 367, 369

Patrikios 36–37, 41, 70–71, 75, 84–85, 94, 162, 276
 Patrikios bestes 50
 Pechatnyk 288
 Posadnik 343, 282
 Praipositos 36–37, 84–85
 Primikerios 48, 52–53
 Proedros 37–38, 56, 58–59, 60, 85, 100, 108, 140, 282, 316, 342
 Protobestiarios 36–37
 Protokouropalates 44
 Protonobellisimos 72, 194
 Protonotarios 69
 Protoproedros 62, 109, 194, 280, 282, 342–343
 Protospatharios 41–42, 48, 61, 63, 74–75, 86, 90, 101, 159, 192
 Protostrator 38–39
 Radnyk 288
 Sakellarios 72–75
 Sebaste 62
 Sebastos 39, 62, 100
 Soldiers of the imperial bodyguard 35
 Spatharokandidatos 63–64, 68
 Strategos 42, 83, 96, 101, 192
Strategos of:
 Iericho 92
 Kephallenia 92
 Kibyrraioton 90
 Nikopolis 92
 Peloponnesos 96
 Seleukeia 93
 Synkellos 155, 296–297
 Topoteretes 86–87
 Velykyi Kniaz' 206, 232, 240–241, 277

ICONOGRAPHY

Akakia 32, 243
 Alexios I Komnenos, emperor 30
 Chlamys 53, 74, 240
 Christ (bust) 26, 28, 32, 122
 Christ (on throne) 30, 167, 352
 Cloak 206–207, 211, 248, 370
 Constantinus Magnus, emperor 243
 Cross (graffiti) 386
 Cross (patriarchal cross with fleurons) 70, 76, 86, 145
 Crown 26, 28, 30, 32, 242–243
 Fibula 206–207, 211, 248, 386
 Globus (cruciger) 26, 28, 30, 74, 90, 192, 288, 342
 Globus (without a cross) 92, 172, 187, 206
 Hand of God 72
 Hat 206
 Klibanion (lamellar armour) 248
 Konstantinos IX Monomachos, emperor 26
 Labarum 28, 30, 32, 74, 370
 Loros 26, 28, 30, 32, 56, 90, 92, 172, 174, 187–188, 192, 242–243, 252, 256, 288, 342
 Maphorion 113, 311, 364
 Mstyslav, megas archon 240
 Nikephoros III Botaneiates, emperor 28
 Pendilia 26, 28, 30, 32, 240, 242–243
Saints:
 Andreas, apostle (bust) 148, 218, 270–272
 Basileios (bust) 159, 232–235, 238
 Damianos (bust) 69
 David Prophet (standing) 175, 258, 260–262, 267
 Demetrios (bust) 53, 181, 189
 Demetrios (standing) 169
 Gabriel (bust) 187
 Georgios (bust) 42, 43, 181, 206, 207, 211, 370, 386
 Georgios (standing) 154, 169, 297
 Ioannes Chrysostomos (bust) 68
 Ioannes Prodromos (bust) 50, 114, 148, 294
 Ioannes Theologos (bust) 361
 Ioannes Theologian (standing) 96
 Konstantinos (bust) 242–243

Kosmas (bust) 69
 Kosmas and Damianos (half-length) 125
 Kyrillos (standing) 276
 Mamas (bust) 128
 Merkurios (bust) 246
 Michael (bust) 56, 90, 92, 100, 172, 188, 192, 288
 Michael (standing) 74, 248, 252–254, 256, 342, 370
 Niketas (bust) 173
 Niketas (standing) 152
 Nikolaos (bust) 46, 68, 75, 134, 140, 142, 186, 194, 348
 Nikolaos (standing) 162, 180, 276
 Paulos (standing) 108, 345, 350
 Petros (bust) 123, 164, 345, 350
 Petros (standing) 108
 Polyeuktos, the patriarch of Constantinople (bust) 336
 Sergios (bust) 106
 Theodoros (bust) 119, 155, 38, 44, 63
 Theodoros (standing) 60, 143, 169, 193, 198, 282
 Sceptre 26, 56, 74, 90, 92, 172, 174, 187–188, 192, 240, 242, 243, 252–253, 256, 288, 342
 Swastika (graffiti) 61
 Tablion 240
Theotokos:
 Assumption of the Virgin (Koimesis) 117
 Blachernitissa-type (bust) 109, 118, 166, 284–285, 371
 Episkepsis-type (bust) 58, 98, 112, 137, 144, 153, 264, 296, 300, 302, 305, 354–355, 358, 364, 366, 368, 380
 Episkepsis-type (standing) 332, 338
 Hodegetria Aristerokratusa (bust) 198
 Hodegetria Dexiokratousa (standing) 48
 Hodegetria-type (bust) 116, 195, 318
 Hodegetria-type (standing) 381
 “Minimalorantengestus”-type (bust) 118, 122, 198, 292
 Nikopoios-type (bust) 62, 82
 Nikopoios-type (standing) 108
 Virgin (standing) 276
 Virgin (on a throne) 113, 311, 314, 316, 328
 Throne 30, 113, 167, 311, 314, 316, 328, 352
 Yaroslav Volodymyrovych, kniaz' 206

INSCRIPTIONS

Ἄγνέ, σκέποις με τὸν θύτην Νεβογράδων 361
 Ἄγνέ, σκέποις με τὸν θύτην Νευβογράδων 361
 Ἄγνή, σκέποις με Νίφοντα Νοβογράδου 364
 Ἄγνή, σκέποις με Ρωσίας Νικηφόρον 300
 Ἀγνή σφραγίς Λέοντος ὁστιάριου 48
 Ἀλακασσέως ἡ σφραγίς Κωνσταντίνου 132
 Ἀλεξίῳ δεσπότη τῷ Κομνηνῷ 30
 Ἀναστασίῳ σπαθαροκανδιδάτῳ 63
 Ἀντώνιον σκέποις με, Σωτήρ μου, Τζερνιγόβου 352
 Βασιλείῳ πατρικίῳ βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ γενικῷ
 λογοθέτῳ 70
 Constantinos autocrator Romaion 26
 Γαβριὴλ βασιλικὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος ὁ ...κουζ... 187
 Γεώργιε φύλαττε τὸν σοῦ οἰκέτην 179
 Γραφὰς σφραγίζω καὶ λόγους Κωνσταντίνου 168
 Γρηγορίῳ τῷ Βουλικοπούλῳ or τῷ Κουλικοπούλῳ 142
 Εἰς Θεὸς ἐκ Γενέταο δι' Υἱόος ἐς μέγα Πνεῦμα 375
 Εἰς Θεὸς ἐκ Γενέταο δι' Υἱόος ἐς μέγα Πνεῦμα Ἰσταμένης
 θεότητος ἐνὶ τελέοισι τελείης 378
 Ἐκφυς προφητῶν βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου Στεφάνῳ 175
 Ἐλέησόν με Θεός 258
 Ἐφημηναν βασιλικῷ σπαθαρίῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαγλαβίου 35
 Θεόδωρον με τὸν Στυπειώτην γένει πρωτονοβελλίσμιον
 ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας μέγαν σακελλάριον ὕψοθεν σκέποις 72
 Θεόδωρον σκέπε με ... or Θεοδώρῳ βέστη or even
 πρωτοβέστη ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος... 195
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει Ἀλεξίῳ μοναχῷ 118
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει Ἰωάννῃ ἐκ προσώπου Κωνσταντίνου
 πραιτορος τοῦ δομestικού τῆς Ἀνατολῆς 82
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει Ἰωάννῃ προέδρῳ τῷ Σπανοπούλῳ 58
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει Κλήμῃ μοναχῷ 118
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει Λέοντι μοναχῷ τῷ Σπιλωάτῃ 381
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει Νικολάῳ κριτῇ Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας
 τῷ Ζουναρᾷ 98
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει Προχόρῳ ἡγουμένῳ 380
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῇ σῇ δούλῃ Ἐλένῃ σεβαστῇ 62
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Γεωργίῳ μητροπολίτῃ
 Ρωσίας 296
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Θωμᾷ μοναχῷ καὶ
 ἐπισκόπῳ 371
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἰωάννῃ μητροπολίτῃ
 Ρωσίας 292
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ
 Βασιλακίῳ 137
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει Φιλημόνῃ ἡγουμένῃ 117
 Θεοφύλακτος βασιλικὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς
 Νικοπόλεως 92
 Τερόσθλαβος μέγας ἄρχων Ῥωσίας 206

Ἰωάννῃ ἐπισκόπῳ Σεττῶν 114
 Κύριε βοήθει Γεωργίῳ μητροπολίτῃ Ρωσίας καὶ συγκέλλῳ
 297
 Κύριε βοήθει Γρηγορίῳ νοταρίῳ 285
 Κύριε βοήθει Δημητρίῳ μαγίστρῳ τῷ Καζάνῃ 44
 Κύριε βοήθει Εὐστρατίῳ πατρικίῳ κριτῇ τοῦ βήλου καὶ
 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καὶ χαρτουλαρίῳ τῆς ἄρκλας
 τοῦ Ὀψικίου τῷ Χρυσοβέργῃ 94
 Κύριε βοήθει Ἐφραῖμ μοναχῷ πρωτοπροέδρῳ καὶ
 μητροπολίτῃ Ρωσίας 342
 Κύριε βοήθει Θεόδωρον τὸν Βραχάμιν 143
 Κύριε βοήθει Θεοδώρῳ μοναχῷ 119
 Κύριε βοήθει Θεοδώρῳ Φάρδῳ 155
 Κύριε βοήθει Θεοπέμπτῳ μητροπολίτῃ Ρωσίας 294
 Κύριε βοήθει Ἰωάννῃ μαντάτωρι καὶ ... τῷ Χαλκίτῃ 186
 Κύριε βοήθει Ἰωάννῃ πατρικίῳ καὶ βέστη 50
 Κύριε βοήθει Ἰωάννῃ σπαθαροκανδιδάτῳ καὶ ἀσηκρητῆς
 68
 Κύριε βοήθει Λέοντι τῷ Ἀρμενίῳ 134
 Κύριε βοήθει Λέοντι τῷ Τατίκῃ πρωτονοβελλίσμῳ 194
 Κύριε βοήθει Μερκουρίῳ ἄρχοντι τῆς Ρουσίας 246
 Κύριε βοήθει Μιχαὴλ μοναχῷ καὶ ἐπισκόπῳ 370
 Κύριε βοήθει Μιχαὴλ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ σακελλαρίῳ
 74
 Κύριε βοήθει Μιχαὴλ τῷ Ματάρχῳ 253–254
 Κύριε βοήθει Μπουγῇ 164
 Κύριε βοήθει Νικήτῃ ὑπάτῳ 42
 Κύριε βοήθει τῇ σῇ δούλῃ Θεοφανοῦ ἄρχοντίσῃ Ρουσίας
 τῇ Μουζαλωνίσσῃ 276
 Κύριε βοήθει τὸν δοῦλόν σου Ἀνδρέαν 271
 Κύριε βοήθει τὸν δοῦλόν σου Μιχαὴλ ἄρχονταν τῆς
 Ρωσίας 252
 Κύριε βοήθει τὸν σὸν δοῦλόν σου Βασίλειον 234
 Κύριε βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου Δαβὶδ ἄρχοντι Ρωσίας 261
 Κύριε βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου Κωνσταντίνῳ πατρικίῳ
 πραιποσίτῳ καὶ δρουγγαρίῳ τῶν πλωίμων 84
 Κύριε βοήθει τῷ Σεβλότῳ 270
 Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἀλεξίῳ προέδρῳ καὶ δουκὶ τῷ
 Ταρχανιώτῃ 100
 Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἀνδρέᾳ 288
 Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἀνδρέᾳ τῷ Βλάδῳ 229
 Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἀνδρέᾳ τῷ Σβλάδῳ 225
 Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Βασιλείῳ 233, 235, 238
 Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Βασιλείῳ Βλαδιμέρῳ τῷ
 Μονομάχῳ 232
 Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Γεωργίῳ 211, 265
 Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Γεωργίῳ ἄρχοντι 207
 Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Γεωργίῳ Γιαλίτῃ 145

Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Δαβίδ ἄρχοντα Ρωσίας 267
Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Δαβίδ ἄρχοντι Ρωσίας 258, 260, 262
Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Δημητρίῳ *or* Ἐφημηνῷ βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ *or* βασιλικῷ σπαθαρίῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαγλαβίου 34
Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἰωάννῃ βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ Πελοποννήσου 96
Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἰωάννῃ κουροπαλάτῃ τῷ Κομνηνῷ 43
Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἰωσήφ μαγίστρῳ καὶ πρωτοστράτορι 38
Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἰωσήφ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ ὑπάτῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ τῷ Χαραβιώτῃ 101
Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ 242–243
Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Λέοντι πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ πρωτονοταρίῳ 69
Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Μιχαήλ 172
Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Μιχαήλ ἄρχοντι καὶ δούκα Ματράχων πάσης Χαζαρίας 248
Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Νικηφόρῳ πατρικίῳ, πραιποσίτῳ, βεστάρχῃ καὶ πρωτοβεστιάριῳ 36
Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Νικολάῳ σπαθαροκανιδιάτῳ τῷ Πίῳ 64
Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Πανκρατίῳ τῷ Παγομένῳ 154
Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Σεργίῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Νέας Ῥώμης 106
Κύριε βοήθει ... Πέτρῳ τῷ Καρασῇ 189
Κυρίλλος μοναχὸς ἐλέφ Θεοῦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς μητροπόλεως Ρωσίας 332
Κωνσταντῖνος ἐλέφ Θεοῦ μητροπολίτης πάσης Ρωσίας 311
Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Κεράμης 153
Λέοντι πριμικηρίῳ τῷ Πετζημέντῃ 53
Λουκᾶ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ 61
Μανουὴλ δεσπότης ὁ προφυρογέννητος 32
Μάξιμος ἐλέφ Θεοῦ μητροπολίτης ἀπάσης Ρωσίας καὶ ὑπέρτιμος 338
Μεσίθλαβος μέγας ἄρχων Ρωσίας 240
Μήτηρ Θεοῦ, σκέποις με Κοσμάν Γαλίτζης 354–355
Μιχαήλ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ Κιβυρραιωτῶν 90
Μιχαήλ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ Μ... *or* Ν... 192
Ν.Ν. βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ ἀκολούθῳ 80
Νικήτα, σῶζε σὸν Νικήταν ὡς θέμις 173
Νικηφόρον σκέποις με τὸν τοῦ πρὸ Μύρου τὸν ποιμενάρχην Ρωσίας πάσης, Λόγε 320
Νικηφόρος βασιλεὺς Ρωμαίων ὁ Βοτανιάτης 28

Ὁ ἅγιος Πολύευκτος πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 336
Οἱ δύο μύσται τῶν Χριστοῦ παθημάτων 345
Ὅμωνόμου μοι σφραγὶς τοῦ Ἰκανάτου 148
Οὐ σφραγὶς εἰμι, τὴν γραφὴν ὁρῶν νόει 180
Πέτρος κουβουκλείσιος καὶ ἡγούμενος τοῦ Ἀγγουρίου 116
Πρωτοπρόεδρον Εὐστάθιον με σκέπε 282
Σὴ ψήφος, ἀγνή, καὶ σκέπ' ἔσθω σῷ κράτει Ἰωάννης σὸς Ρωσικοῦ ποιμὴν ἔθνους 314
Σκέποις Κοντολέοντα σὸν λάτριν *or* δοῦλον, Ἄναξ 167
Σκέποις Λέοντα τὸν Βεριδάρην, μάκαρ 140
Σκέποις Μανουὴλ τὸν τοῦ ἄρχοντος, Κόρη 264
Σκέποις Νικήταν τὸν Τζάνζην, ιεράρχα 162
Σκέποις, ἀθλητά, προέδρῳ Ἰωάννῃ 60
Σκέποις, Τριάς τρίφωτε, τὸν τοῦ πρὸ Μύρων ὑπέρτιμόν τε Ρωσίας Νικηφόρον 321
Σὸν ὁμώνυμον σκέποις πρόεδρον τὸν Κοτέρτζην 56
Συμεὼν πρωτοσπαθάρης καὶ τοποτηρητὴς ὁ Φαγᾶς 86
Συνώνυμον σκέποις με σὸν Καλοφόρον 152
Σφραγὶς Γεωργίου γραμμάτων 188
Σφραγὶς γραφὰς πιστοῦσα τὰς τοῦ Σπονδύλῃ 156
Σφραγὶς Γρηγορίου χαρτουλαρίου τοῦ Χαλκίτῃ 76
Σφραγὶς Διονυσίου ἐπισκόπου Πυλοτζήκου 366
Σφραγὶς Λεοντίου ἐπισκόπου Ροστόβου 368
Σφραγὶς Λουκᾶ μοναχοῦ καὶ ἐπισκόπου 345
Σφραγὶς μαγίστρου Κωνσταντίνου Κορώνῃ 46
Σφραγὶς Μαξίμου τοῦ προέδρου Βρανίσκου 350
Σφραγὶς Μαρίας μοναχῆς τῆς εὐγενεστάτης ἀρχοντίσσης 272
Σφραγὶς Μιχαήλ ποιμενάρχου Ρωσίας 305, 318
Σφραγὶς Νικήτα Ρωσίας ἐπισκόπου 302
Σφραγὶς Νικηφόρου μητροπολίτου πάσης Ῥουσίας 336
Σφραγὶς Νικολάου ἐπισκόπου Βελογράδου 348
Σφραγὶς προέδρου Κερκύρων Βασιλείου 108
Σφραγὶς προέδρου Ρωσίας Κωνσταντίνου 316
Σφραγὶς πρωτοπροέδρου Ναζιανζοῦ Νικήτα 109
Σφραγὶς Συμεὼν ἐπισκόπου Αὐλῶνος 112
Σφραγὶς τῶν Ἀναργύρων τοῦ Κοσμιδίου 125
Σφράγισμά εἰμι Κυριακοῦ διςυπάτου 40
Σφράγισμα τῶν Ρῶς τυγχάνω κομμερκίου 97
Τετράς ἀθλητῶν φύλακες Κωνσταντίνου 169
Τὸν ποιμενάρχην Ἰωσήφ τῆς Ῥωσίας, ἐπισκοπῆς σῆς, ὃ κόρη, καταξίου 328
Τὸν Χλιαρηνόν με σκέποις Κωνσταντῖνον 144
Τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Μάμαντος 128
Τῶν Ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων 123
Χαριτώνυμον σκέποις 166
Χεῖρ Κυρίου 72
Χριστόφορον, Πάναγνε, Βερόης σκέποις 113

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**ВІЗАНТІЙСЬКІ ПЕЧАТКИ ТА РУСЬКІ ПЕЧАТКИ
У ВІЗАНТІЙСЬКОМУ СТИЛІ, ЩО БУЛИ ЗНАЙДЕНІ НА ТЕРИТОРІЇ УКРАЇНИ
(Колекція Музею Шереметьєвих, Київ)**

Каталог
(англійською мовою)

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IN THE BYZANTINE STYLE FOUND ON THE TERRITORY OF UKRAINE
(Collection of the Sheremetievs' Family Museum),
Edited by Werner Seibt and Oleksandr Alf'orov**

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Byzantine Seals and Rus' Seals in the Byzantine Style Found on the Territory of Ukraine

Edited by Werner Seibt and Oleksandr Alf'orov



Oleksiy Sheremetiev

Oleksiy Sheremetiev is an entrepreneur, philanthropist, public and cultural figure. He is renowned as a military history researcher, reenactor, and antiquities collector.

Oleksiy Sheremetiev founded the private Sheremetiev Museum, which houses a collection of over 100,000 artifacts. The Sheremetiev Museum's sphragistics collection is one of the largest in the world. The museum organizes and participates in more than 50 large-scale exhibitions and festivals.

Since 2010, the Institute of Special Historical Disciplines has been operating under the auspices of the Sheremetiev Museum. It brings together leading Ukrainian scholars in the field of sphragistics, genealogy, heraldry, and other related subjects. The Institute hosts important scientific events and publishes collections of scholarly works on the initiative of Oleksiy Sheremetiev.

In 2009-2010, Oleksiy Sheremetiev restored the landmark of Sevastopol, the building of the Mikhailovsky Coastal Battery, and established a military history museum complex within the building.

Oleksiy Sheremetiev founded the Stavky Art Estate in 2011 in Radomyshl. The Church of the Holy Martyrs Maccabees was built at his expense in the village of Stavky in 2009.



Werner Seibt

Since 2007, when Werner Seibt retired as a professor for Byzantine Studies and the Medieval History of Armenia and Georgia at the University of Vienna (Alma Mater Rudolfina), he has continued working as an honorary fellow of the Austrian Academy of Sciences / Division of Byzantine Research. He had been deputy director of the Byzantine Commission of the Austrian Academy of Sciences for many years, director of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies at the University of Vienna, and the first president of the Commission for Byzantine Sigillography of the Association Internationale des Etudes Byzantines.

His research focuses on Byzantine sigillography, Byzantine history, Byzantine administrative history, Byzantine prosopography, Byzantium and the peoples of the Caucasus region, monograms, etc. AD 2022, he was elected Dr. h. c. by the University of Ioannina and honored as a corresponding member of the Kentron Byzantinon Spoudon at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.



Oleksandr Alf'orov

Oleksandr Alf'orov is a PhD in history, author, and co-author of 13 books on sphragistics, genealogy, and the history of the Cossacks.

Since 2010, he has been a researcher at the Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Concurrently, from 2008 to February 24, 2022, he worked as a host of historical national television and radio projects. In 2017-2022, he curated several historical exhibitions in Ukrainian museums.

In 2014-2015, he served in the National Guard of Ukraine. In 2019, he graduated from the Department of Officer Training at the University of Defense of Ukraine. Since the beginning of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, he has been serving in the Armed Forces of Ukraine with the rank of captain.

Oleksandr Alf'orov's research interests include sphragistics (of the period of Kyivan Rus, late Middle Ages, and the 18th and 19th centuries), genealogy, numismatics, heraldry, and paleobotany.